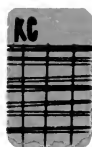
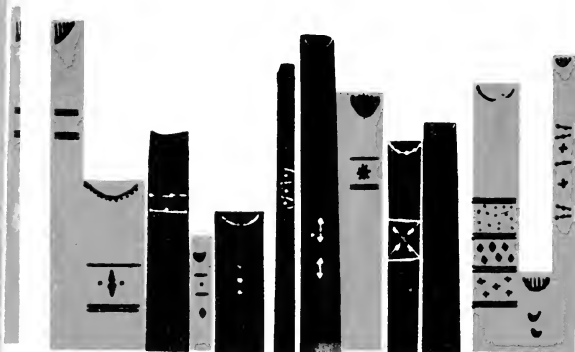


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REVIEW**

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

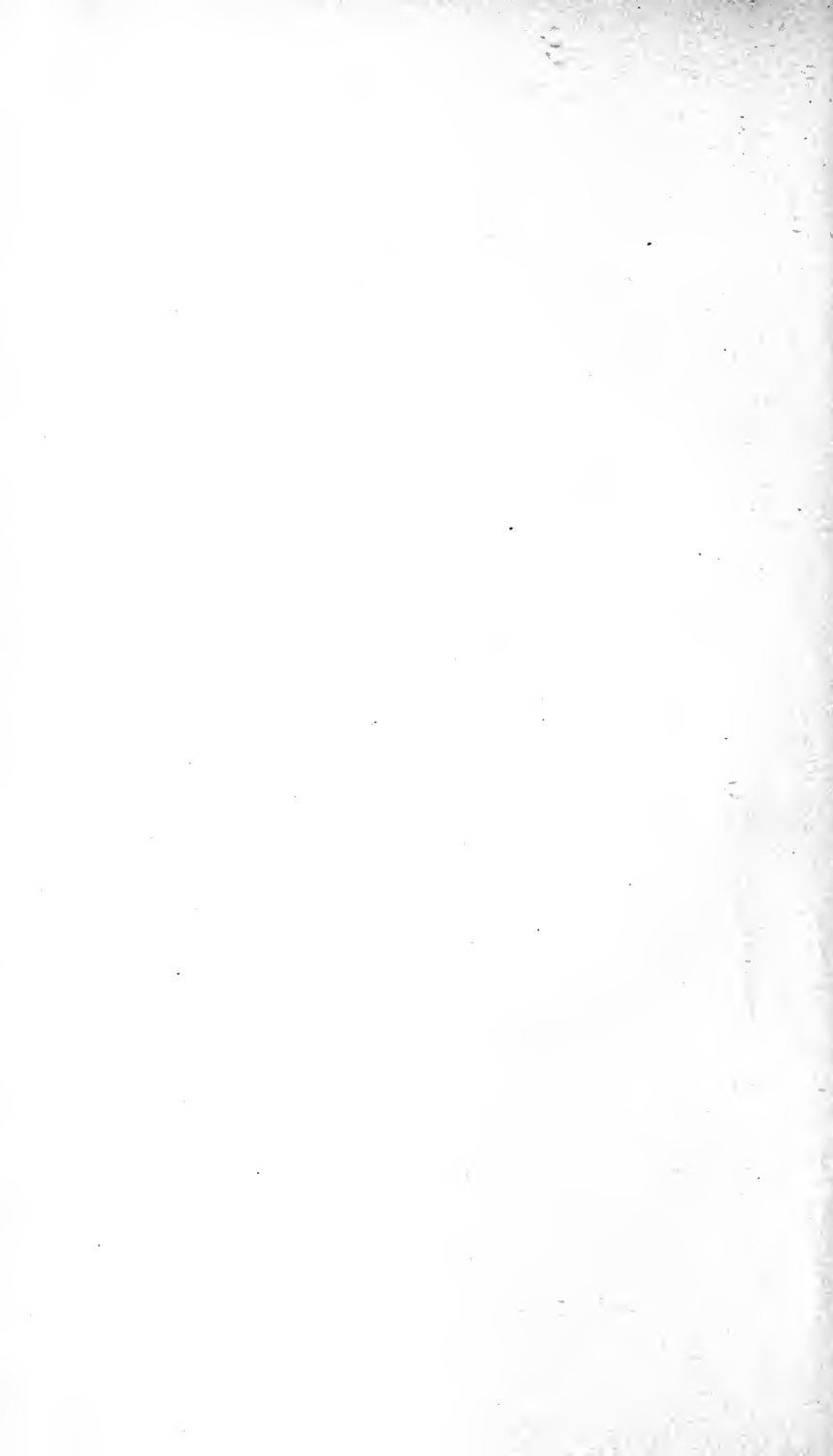
Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

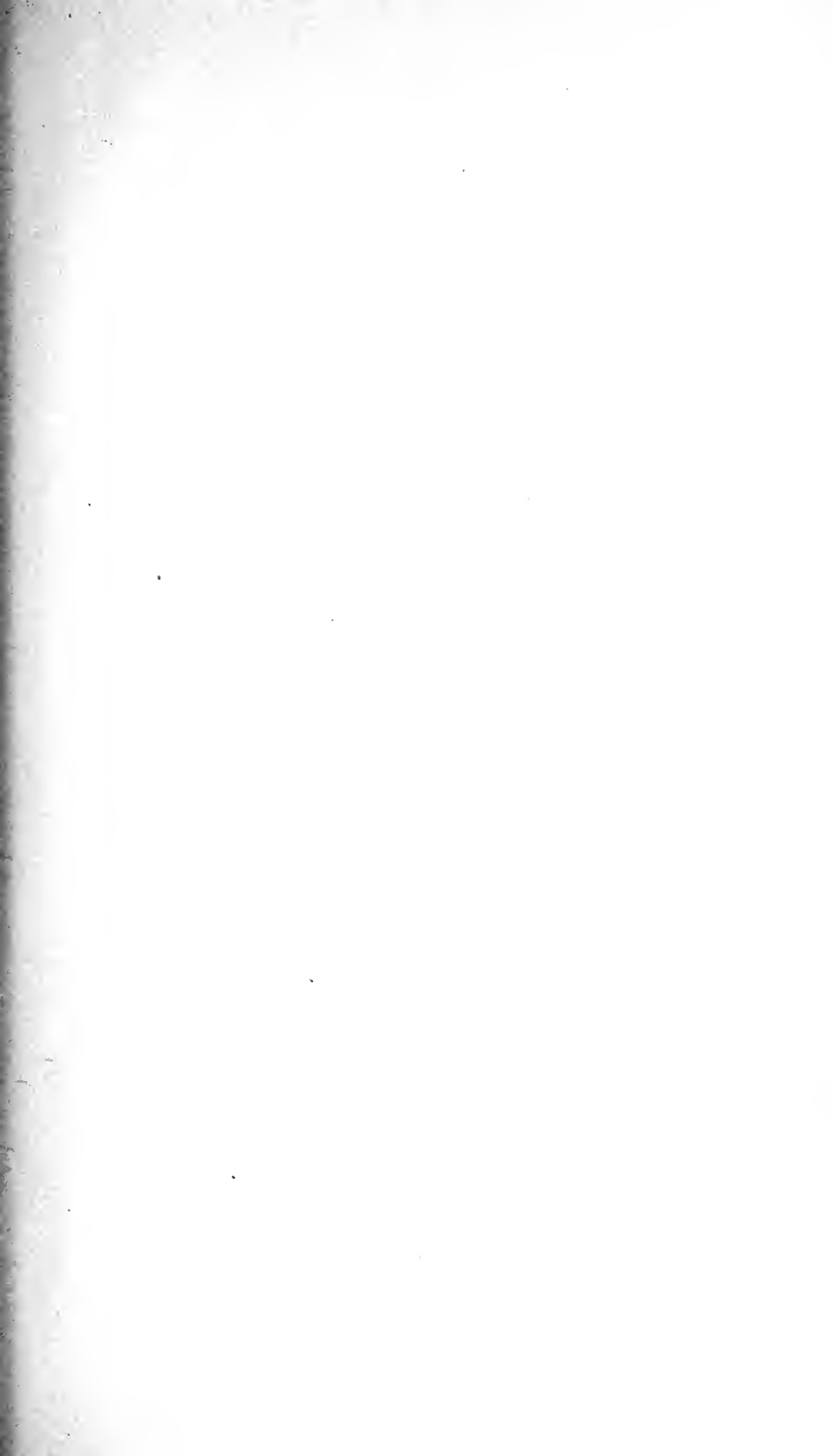
Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex







JOHN G. BOURKE IN 1869

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. IX

JANUARY, 1934

No. 1

GOVERNMENT EXPLORATIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO 1846-1859¹

By A. B. BENDER

BY the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, the United States came into possession of a vast tract of western land. In the same year gold was discovered in California and this was soon followed by discoveries in other portions of the Far West. A mighty immigrant wave followed. The newly-acquired Indian wards disputed the advance of the gold-seekers and settlers. The peaceful Indians suffered at the hands of the wild tribes, as well as from unscrupulous whites. The extended frontier made the adoption of a definite governmental policy in the trans-Mississippi West paramount. The government met this need promptly. During the period, 1848-1861, it initiated a comprehensive policy which embraced the greater part of the Far West. Its extensive program involved: (1) opening the Far West to trade and settlement; (2) surveying routes for Pacific Railroads; (3) frontier defense; and (4) surveying the South-western boundary. In carrying out this policy army officers and engineers explored most of the trans-Mississippi country, surveyed the principal western rivers, and ran the boundary line. This program also included the construction of a network of roads, the establishment of military posts and Indian reservations, the dispatch of punitive expedi-

1. This article is part of a doctoral dissertation prepared under the direction of Professor T. M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis. Professor R. P. Bieber of the same institution has made valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

tions against the Indians, and the formulation of treaties with the tribes. It is the purpose of this paper to show how the federal government carried out a definite exploration policy in the territory of New Mexico, or the Ninth Military Department,² in the interest of the immigrant, the trader, the prospector, and the settler.

The exploration program was started while the Mexican War was in progress. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who had been ordered to capture New Mexico and California, conducted the first official expedition to the Pacific across the New Mexican Territory. While Kearny's expedition was primarily for military purposes, an important phase was exploration. The reconnaissance division was headed by Lieutenant William H. Emory, Topographical Engineer, who was assisted by Lieutenants W. H. Warner, James W. Abert, and William G. Peck of the Topographical Engineers, and J. M. Stanley and Norman Bestor. Emory was instructed by Colonel John J. Abert to collect data which would give the government some idea of the character of the regions traversed.³

Kearny and his "Army of the West" left Fort Leavenworth on June 27, 1846, and on August 18 entered Santa Fé. Within five weeks he left Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan in charge of affairs and proceeded to the Pacific

2. At the close of the Mexican War, for purposes of military administration, the United States was divided into two Divisions, Eastern and Western, and eleven Departments. Between August 31, 1848, and October 3, 1853, the territory of New Mexico was known as the Ninth Military Department. From the latter date to the eve of the Civil War it was designated as the Department of New Mexico. Like the other military departments, its boundaries were modified from time to time. On July 3, 1861, the Department of New Mexico was merged into the Western Department. R. P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States; 1813-1880* (Washington, 1881), 49-50, 71; *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the year 1848-1861* (Boston, 1847-1860), XX, 111-112; General Orders, Number 49, 1848, Number 58, 1849, Number 56, 1851, Numbers 5, 25, 1853, Number 40, 1861. Ms., General Order Books, XII-XIV, 1847-1861, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington.

3. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, p. 7.

coast. Leaving Santa Fé on September 25, Kearny's army,⁴ mounted on mules, moved down the Rio Grande Valley about 230 miles. At Fray Cristóbal the command, separating from the wagon train which took a more southerly route, crossed the dividing ridge nearly on the 33rd parallel, struck the Gila and followed it to its junction with the Colorado. Crossing this stream about ten miles below the mouth of the Gila, Kearny travelled northwest over the Colorado desert. By December 5 the army crossed the summit of the coast range through Warner's Pass, and a week later arrived at San Diego, where the principal reconnaissance terminated.⁵

Although the journey was accompanied by no startling adventures, the men and animals suffered considerable hardships. Upon leaving the Rio Grande the command struck out toward the southwest and marched over a tortuous course of valleys, mountains, streams, and stunted timber. Numerous varieties of gigantic cacti appeared everywhere. The march along the Gila was extremely difficult: the mules stumbled repeatedly because of the steep ascents and descents; deep gullies cut the river banks; the troops wound dizzily through cañons, over mountains, and under overhanging cliffs; huge boulders, deep sands, and sharp pebbles obstructed the trail; "mirages distorted the landscape into many fantastic shapes"; ruins of dwellings of an ancient race added to the barrenness of the scene; game was scarce, but lizards, scorpions and tarantulas were plentiful. Beyond the Colorado the worn and weary band entered a more barren and desolate region. Men, horses, and mules plodded through a ninety mile stretch of drifting sand. The jaded animals were left behind to die. The

4. At Santa Fé, Kearny divided his command. After garrisoning this post, he detached Colonel Doniphan with 850 men to form a junction with Taylor at Monterey; he ordered the wagon train and the Mormon battalion under Colonel Cooke to open a new wagon road, while he led about 100 First Dragoons. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition* (Cincinnati, 1848), 27, 205-208; Louis Pelzer, *Marches of Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), 142; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pp. 513-517. 503

5. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 45-113. 517.

rations became low and the men consumed an entire horse with great relish.

Emory kept a journal of the expedition. His account, accompanied by an excellent map, and numerous sketches and drawings, proved highly valuable. It contained a good description of the country, its inhabitants, its plant, and animal life. The relics of the ancient inhabitants, the ruins, pottery, and rock inscriptions of mastodons, horses, dogs, and men, examined by Emory for the first time, attracted much attention. The data obtained by the Topographical Engineers proved of great value to those who were to follow. Emory and his men made astronomical observations, measured distances, located mountains, plains, cañons, and streams; they collected many plants and examined rocks which threw considerable light on the botany and geology of the country; they added materially to the knowledge about the habits and character of the Apache, the Pima, and the Coco-Maricopa Indians. This expedition was the first in the series of scientific transcontinental surveys of the Far Southwest.⁶

Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, one of Kearny's officers, conducted the second expedition to California. Cooke, who led the Mormon Battalion, had been ordered by Kearny to locate a wagon road south of the route followed by the "Army of the West." Cooke's command which was composed of about 350 men, each company having a three-mule wagon, separated from Kearny's army at Fray Cristóbal.⁷ Moving southwestward to Ojo de Vaca, the wagon train was guided by Antoine Leroux to the Guadalupe Pass, through which a trail led to Janos. On reaching the pass, Cooke was obliged to cut a road for his wagons. Moving along the San Pedro River, the command turned northward to Tucson, where Cooke experienced some difficulty in getting permission to pass through the town. From Tucson the route led to the Pima villages and thence down the Gila to its junction

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-127, 567-614.

7. Hughes, *opus cit.*, 210-211; Stephen W. Kearny, Letter Book, 1846-'47, p. 97. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

with the Colorado. Crossing the latter stream, the command marched northwest across the desert to Warner's Ranch, and thence westward to San Diego, arriving there on January 29, 1847.

Cooke's route, located south of Kearny's, was almost an arc, with one point near El Paso and the other near the Pima villages. Its southern extremity was on a line with San Bernardino. The command had been on the march from Fray Cristóbal three months and ten days, and had suffered many hardships from the lack of food and water.⁸ But Cooke had accomplished his object: he had proved that a wagon road could be constructed to the Pacific and had been the first to build such a road.⁹ This new southern wagon route served not only as an important aid for the California immigrants but also as a potent factor in the Gadsden Purchase. Troops occasionally used a portion or the whole of Cooke's wagon route.¹⁰

When Kearny left Santa Fé, his entire reconnaissance staff did not accompany him. Lieutenants Abert and Peck were left with instructions to make explorations in the neighboring region. Their detailed instructions from Lieutenant Emory, September 14, 1846, directed them to chart the course of the Rio Grande and its tributaries to the base of the mountains or beyond the settlements, and to determine the width of the valleys, the position of towns, and hills. They were also to secure statistical information such as the size of the population, amount of live stock, quantities of grain under cultivation, facilities and localities for water power to operate machinery, and mineral resources.

Pursuant to these instructions, Abert and Peck commenced their examinations on October 8, 1846, and continued until December 23.¹¹ Santa Fé was the starting point of

8. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. No. 41, pp. 551-562; Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1915), I, 137-148.

9. A. G. Brackett, *History of United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865), 124.

10. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 478-479.

11. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 43-44, 460-511.

the survey. Abert descended the Rio Grande to Algodones, whence he made a short trip up the Rio Jemez and back. Continuing down the Rio Grande to Albuquerque, he crossed the river. Striking out westward to the Puerco, he followed its valley to the Rio San José. He then ascended that stream to the pueblo Moquino, and visited the pueblos of Laguna and Acoma and the ruins of a deserted pueblo on the Rito, a branch of the San José River. From there, Abert retraced his steps to Albuquerque. He moved down the east side of the Rio Grande as far as Peralta and, recrossing the river, returned to Padillas. From Padillas he again recrossed the Rio Grande and travelled up the Cañon Inferno through the Sierra Blanca, visited the towns of Chililí, Tajique, Torreón, Manzano, and Quaraí, and returned to the Rio Grande by way of the ruins of Abó. He struck the river at Casa Colorada. Moving down the river as far as the ruins of Valverde, he recrossed the Rio Grande and returned to Albuquerque. From there Abert proceeded up the San Antonio Cañon to its head in the Sandía Mountains, thence northward to the mine and town of Tuerto, and so back to Santa Fé where he arrived on December 23.

Abert's report to Colonel John J. Abert,¹² chief of Topographical Engineers, was exceedingly detailed and highly valuable. It included an account of the topography, the inhabitants, and the plant and animal life of the region. West of the Rio Grande, Abert's route, for the greater part, was through deep sands. The Mexican inhabitants in the small villages, Abert found extremely ceremonious, polite, ignorant, and deceitful. Very few Indians were encountered on the march and those that were met appeared friendly.¹³

12. John James Abert's name is linked with the Bureau of Topographical Engineers for more than a quarter of a century. As head of the Topographical Bureau, 1838-1861, he was an important factor in the development of governmental engineering projects prior to the Civil War. His reports are considered standard works. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903). I, 150; *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (J. H. Brown, ed., Boston, 1900-1903), I, 13; *New International Encyclopedia* (1914 edition), I, 37.

13. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 426-500.

Upon the conclusion of the Mexican War the government's exploration policy assumed a more definite character. The location of shorter and better routes, the selection of sites for military posts and Indian reservations, the construction of roads, the sinking of artesian wells, and the dispatch of punitive expeditions served as occasions for numerous explorations across the entire Far West, as well as in particular departments. In 1849, Captain Randolph B. Marcy, Fifth Infantry, who had figured prominently in connection with explorations in Texas and Utah territory, explored a portion of the Ninth Military Department. He led an expedition from Fort Smith to Santa Fé. Marcy's instructions, dated April 4, 1849, from the headquarters of the Seventh Military Department, directed him to "ascertain and establish the best route from Fort Smith to Santa Fé and California; explore and survey, with a view toward construction, a wagon road from Fort Smith to Santa Fé by way of the south Canadian River; conciliate the Indian tribes along the route; serve as an escort to California emigrants." Marcy's command consisted of twenty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, company F, First Dragoons, and fifty men of the Fifth Infantry. Lieutenant James H. Simpson, Topographical Engineers, was the chief reconnaissance officer. Doctor Julian Rogers of Wilmington, Delaware, accompanied the expedition, and "Black Beaver" acted as guide and interpreter.¹⁴

Marcy's train, consisting of eighteen wagons, one six-pounder, and a blacksmith's travelling forge, left Fort Smith on April 5. The route was in a general westerly course along the south bank of the Canadian. On May 17, opposite the mouth of Spring Creek, near the Upper Cross Timbers, the command was joined by an immigrant company bound for California. While encamped on Antelope Hills, the expedition had its first experience with Indians. Four Kiowa braves dressed in war costume and armed with

14. Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, was engaged at Shawnee village, 125 miles from Santa Fé. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45, pp. 23, 26, 27, 28, 31

rifles, bows, lances, and shields came into camp. According to their own version, the Indians were on a horse and mule stealing expedition to Chihuahua. They were given presents and told that the Great Father desired peace with all his "red children."¹⁵ On June 14, the exploring party got its first glimpse of the Llano Estacado of New Mexico. While encamped near Cerro Tucumcari, Marcy was visited by Is-sa-ki-ep (Wolf Shoulder), Comanche chieftain, with a band of about fifty followers, including women and children. Marcy held a "talk" with the Indians, in which he emphasized the need of the white brothers moving westward and expressed the hope that the Indians would not molest the white man on his march. The chief replied that the "talk" was good and produced a passport given him by Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent of the Upper Platte and Arkansas, dated Bent's Fort, February 26, 1849. Upon request, Marcy gave Is-sa-ki-ep a similar document. On June 23, Marcy entered Anton Chico and found the people celebrating St. John's Day. Dressed in gala attire, the several hundred inhabitants turned out to attend the horse races, chicken fights, and dances. Even Marcy was persuaded to attend a *fandango*. Five days later the command entered Santa Fé.¹⁶

After a six weeks' rest the expedition started homeward. Instead of following the outward bound trail, Marcy decided to use a southern route. He employed a Comanche Indian as guide, who stated that there was a point opposite El Paso where the Staked Plains could be crossed and commenced the return by a new route. Leaving Santa Fé, he struck the Rio Grande at Algodones, and moved southward along the east bank of the river to Doña Ana. The line of march was next shifted toward St. Augustine Pass, a gap in the Organ Mountains. On September 16 the valley of the Pecos was sighted, and five days later the entire command was transported in rafts to the east bank. The re-

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-37.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-48.

mainder of the journey was in a northeasterly course. Marcy was back at Fort Smith on November 20.¹⁷

Both routes were reported favorably. The northern (outward bound) route was described by Simpson to Colonel Abert as one of the best roads he had seen. It was also reported safe for immigrants. Numerous parties had used it without a military escort. One party of four Germans had travelled from Fort Smith to Santa Fé without molestation from Indians.¹⁸ Marcy reported favorably on the southern route to Lieutenant F. F. Flint, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Seventh Military Department. From Doña Ana to Fort Smith, a distance of almost 1,000 miles, the road was smooth and uniformly level. It ran through the heart of a country possessing great natural advantages. Because of the abundance of water, timber, and rich fertile soil, Marcy considered this road the best overland wagon route to California.¹⁹ His description proved correct. This road was used quite extensively by California immigrants after 1849.²⁰

In the Ninth Military Department the semi-agricultural and wild tribes²¹ frequently went on the war-path. Expeditions against them were necessary. In 1849, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Washington,²² military commander and governor of New Mexico territory, led an elaborate punitive-exploring expedition into the heart of the

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-77.

18. Despite the reputed safety of the route along the southern Canadian, Simpson recommended the establishment of several military posts. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21, 29.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

20. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 54, p. 112.

21. The Ute, Apache and Apache-Mohave, or Yavapai, were the principal wild tribes. Adolf F. Bandelier, *Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880-1885 (Cambridge, Mass., 1890-1892), pt. 1, p. 174; J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country; A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York, 1869), 21; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907-1910) II, 874.

22. Washington became civil and military governor of New Mexico on October 11, 1848. This position he held until October 23, 1849, when he was relieved by Colonel John Munroe, who served in that capacity until the end of the military regime, July 8, 1850. David Y. Thomas, "History of Military Government in the Newly Acquired Territories of the United States," in Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* XX, No. 2, pp. 128, 141; Thian, *opus cit.*, 49-50.

Navaho²³ country. Washington's command, consisting of 175 men, was accompanied by Lieutenant Simpson, chief reconnaissance officer, James S. Calhoun, Indian agent of the department, and James L. Collins, Spanish interpreter. One six-pounder and three mountain howitzers were intended to impress the Indians.²⁴

This imposing cavalcade, with its wagons, pack mules, and thirty days' rations for 500 men, left Santa Fé on August 16. Washington marched southwest toward the Rio Grande. Crossing the river at Santo Domingo, he moved on to Jemez, where the command was further strengthened.²⁵ In the meantime, Simpson, accompanied by assistant surveyors Edwards and Hammond, and a Mr. Edward Kern of Philadelphia, visited the ruins of Los Ojos Calientes. On August 22 the wagons were changed for pack-mules, and the journey was resumed. The enlarged command numbering about 400 men moved north westward. Numerous pueblo ruins dotted the line of march, many of which Simpson examined. On September 6 the command arrived at Cañon Chelly, and two days later Simpson with an escort of sixty men made a reconnaissance of the valley. The Cañon was explored for a distance of nine and one-half miles above its mouth. The previous notion that it was an impregnable fortress was found erroneous.²⁶

On September 9, Washington and Calhoun entered into a treaty²⁷ with the Navaho, and on the following day the expedition started on its return. Washington had planned to return through the Utah country, but because of a rumor

23. Since the treaty made with the Navaho in 1848 by Colonel Edward W. B. Newby they had stolen large quantities of stock and had carried off several Mexicans. Jacob P. Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* (New York, 1886), 257; Farish *opus cit.*, I, 307.

24. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 64, p. 60.

25. At Jemez the command was increased by fifty-five Pueblo Indians, by Captain Henry L. Dodge's company of fifty men, and by some eighty Mexican mounted militia. The Mexican contingent proved very unstable; thirty deserted within three days, *Ibid.*, pp. 60-71.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 102.

27. This treaty, like those that preceded it, was a dead letter. The Navaho reverted to their old habits, and military forces had to be sent against them. Farish, *opus cit.*, I, 308-309; Dunn, *opus cit.*, 258.

of Apache depredations he changed his course. He moved southeastward to Zuñi and then struck out to Atrisco, opposite Albuquerque. By September 26 the command was back at Santa Fé.²⁸

The character of the region traversed was uninviting. Simpson described the country between Santa Fé and the Tunicha Mountains as "one extended, naked, barren waste, sparsely covered with cedar and pine of a scrub growth, and thickly sprinkled with wild sage and artemisia." From the eastern base of the Tunicha to Cañon Chelly and thence to Santa Fé by the southern route, the region was, for the most part, quite barren. Simpson considered the route from Santa Fé practicable only as far as the eastern base of the Tunicha Mountains. He believed that a practicable wagon road could be constructed between Santa Fé and Zuñi, a distance of some 200 miles. Carravahal, the Indian guide who had been down the Rio Zuñi to its junction with the Colorado of the West, reported that there was a good wagon road all the way to Colorado. Simpson recommended further exploration of this region. He believed that it would make an excellent route to Los Angeles, lying as it did between the Spanish Trail and Cooke's route, and shortening the distance probably by 300 miles. This route had another advantage over the other two as it passed the pueblos of Laguna and Zuñi and probably those of the Moqui, where supplies and repairs could be secured.²⁹

In his report of September 25, 1849, to Major General Roger Jones, Washington estimated the Navaho population between 7,000 and 10,000. Of these, about 2,000 he designated as warriors, well armed and well mounted. To secure a firm and durable peace, Washington believed it necessary to establish a military post in their country. Simpson recommended the establishment of a military post at Cebolleta,³⁰ a strategic position which guarded the avenue of approach

28. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 64, p. 136.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

30. It was situated northeast of Zuñi, about mid-way between that town and Santa Fé, *Ibid.*, p. 137.

of the Navaho.³¹ Shortly after this survey troops were stationed there.³²

According to Simpson the Navaho expedition had been successful. A treaty had been made with the Indians by which they put themselves under the jurisdiction and control of the United States government.³³ Of far greater value was the exploration of the country. Troops penetrated into the heart of the Indian country and gained accurate geographical knowledge valuable for future military demonstrations, as well as for the immigrant.³⁴

In the spring of 1850, Captain Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, made an important military reconnaissance along the Pecos. Judd's objective was the selection of a site for a military post. On March 15, Judd and his command, Light Company C, equipped as cavalry, left Las Vegas. Accompanying the command were Lieutenants J. H. Dickerson and Ambrose E. Burnside, Third Artillery,³⁵ R. H. Kern, topographer, and P. M. Papin. Estephan Corunna, a Mexican who had been a prisoner among the Comanche, served as guide. A train of five wagons transported the provisions.

Anton Chico was the starting point of the survey. To avoid the numerous barriers caused by the arroyos and dry ravines running down from the table lands, Judd struck out eastward across the hills and rocky ridges of the uplands bordering the river. This course was pursued till the Galinas was reached, at which point one route led to the Red River country and another to Marcy's trail. Leaving the

31. The Navaho had a route coming from the north and passing west of the village; from the east, several routes led to Cebolleta. The route from this village to Albuquerque was reported as being fairly good. The other route which led through Alamo to Albuquerque was also a good wagon road. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

32. James S. Calhoun, *Official Correspondence* (Washington, 1915), 77.

33. This however, was a mere gesture on the part of the Navaho. Dunn, *opus cit.*, 258; Farish, *opus cit.*, I, 308-309.

34. Simpson's journal is filled with interesting and accurate descriptions of the physical features of the country, towns, natives, and relics. It is illustrated with colored drawings and has an excellent map. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. No. 64, p. 107.

35. Heitman assigns Dickerson to the First Artillery. Heitman, *opus cit.*, I, 373.

Gallinas, the command followed the trail of the buffalo hunters and Comanche traders on their route to and from Red River for about eleven miles, and then struck out due south to the Arroyo de los Esteros, where wood and water were plentiful. From this point the expedition travelled over a rough and broken country till it struck a trail of Indian traders; Judd followed this trail to the crossing of the Cañada de Juan de Diós. Moving over a level country to the Alamo Gordo and to the Arroyo de los Carretos, the reconnoitering party crossed some steep sand hills and descended into the rich and fertile bottom lands of the Pecos, the upper extremity of the Bosque Redondo.³⁶

At this point the command was divided. The main division continued southward to the Espias, a noted haunt of the Navaho while on their predatory visits to the Bosque Redondo. A small reconnoitering party was sent to the west side of the Pecos to search for an old road which had been described as branching off to Matamoras and Socorro. The main party crossed to the west bank of the river, and ascending the table lands, travelled over a rugged country till it reached the Bosque Grande.³⁷ The expedition had travelled about 200 miles from Las Vegas to the southern extremity of the Bosque Grande. From the latter point, Judd had originally intended to strike out westward toward the Rio Grande in the direction of Albuquerque and Socorro, via the Jumanos chain of mountains. His reconnaissance, however, had already proved that the Pecos was considerably farther to the east than was located on current maps. As

36. Bosque Redondo, "round forest," was about 130 miles below Las Vegas. Extending for fifteen miles on both sides of the Pecos, it was a sort of neutral ground where a number of Indian tribes were accustomed to meet with traders from the settlements. From the middle of May to early August these plains were covered with Indian lodges and horses. Judd to L. McLaws, March 30, 1850. Ms., Letters Received, Headquarters of the Army, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.); *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45, p. 52.

37. Bosque Grande, "great forest," was about sixty miles below Bosque Redondo. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers Written During a Period of Thirty Years' Service in the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1868), 509; John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (Santa Fé, 1868), 200.

his animals were considerably weakened from the journey, he abandoned the proposed march to the Rio Grande. After a brief rest, the expedition retraced its steps; Judd was back in Las Vegas on March 29.

With the exceptions of the Bosque Redondo and Bosque Grande, the entire region traversed was destitute of timber. The plains and table lands on both sides of the Pecos were covered with the finest buffalo and gramma grass. The bottom lands were quite extensive, rich, and fertile. The game in this region was abundant; deer and turkey were numerous in the groves, while ducks were plentiful in the willows; and the streams abounded in fish. Judd considered both *Bosques* as important military positions, and because of the Indian dangers, they were particularly suitable for mounted garrisons.³⁸ Despite Judd's recommendation, a military post on the Pecos was not selected until the time of the Civil War.³⁹ This reconnaissance, however, added materially to the knowledge about the upper Pecos valley.

When Marcy's expedition was planned, there were but two routes of any consequence from Santa Fé to California⁴⁰ entirely within the limits of the United States. These were Kearny's route and the route from Santa Fé through Cañada and Abiquiú to San José or St. Joseph's Spring, and thence to Los Angeles. The part between San José Spring and Abiquiú was comparatively unknown. As it was called the "caravan route", from California to Santa Fé, there was reason to believe that it was a good one. Desirous of obtaining more accurate knowledge about this route, the War Department planned an exploring expedition across the northern part of the Ninth Military Department. Simpson was to have led this expedition and was to have sub-

38. Judd to McLaws, March 30, 1850. Ms. L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 78, p. 62

39. Cremony, *opus cit.*, 199-200.

40. For other trails, see R. P. Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 346-347, 356, 360, 363-366; R. G. Cleland, *History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922), 236; J. J. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV, 444-469; O. T. Howe, *Argonauts of '49* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 16, 37-38.

mitted a map and detailed report.⁴¹ This expedition, however, did not materialize until 1851, when Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves of the Topographical Engineers made the first government exploration across the northern part of the present state of Arizona. The terminal points were Zuñi and Fort Yuma⁴² on the Colorado River.

Sitgreaves' instructions from Colonel Abert, November 18, 1850, directed him to "pursue the Zuñi River to its junction with the Colorado, determining its course and character, particularly in reference to its navigable properties and to the character of its adjacent land and productions."⁴³ The exploring party was organized at Santa Fé. Under Sitgreaves' command were Lieutenant John G. Parke, Topographical Engineers, Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, physician and naturalist, and R. H. Kern, photographer and draughtsman. Antoine Leroux was guide, and five Americans and ten Mexicans served as packers and *arrieros*; some thirty pack mules carried the equipment, and a flock of sheep furnished the main food supply.⁴⁴

Sitgreaves assembled his entire command, including an escort of thirty men under Major Henry L. Kendrick, Second Artillery, at Zuñi, and on September 24 the exploration

41. Abert to Simpson, May 5, 1849. Ms. Letter Books, Chief of Topographical Engineers, Old Records Section, Office of Chief of Engineers, Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms. L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.)

42. This post had a very colorful history. It was established on November 27, 1850, by Major Samuel P. Heintzelman and was at first located on the right bank of the Colorado River, within the present Imperial County, California. "At first it was situated in the bottoms, about a half mile below the mouth of the Gila; in March 1851 it was moved to a higher elevation, on the west bank of the Colorado, the site of a former Spanish Mission—the "Mission of Concepcion." The post was variously designated as the "Post of the Mouth of Gila" or "Military Post at the Junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers," "Camp Yuma," and finally "Fort Yuma." In the fifties Fort Yuma was the most important post in southern California: it protected the southern route of American immigration; it controlled numerous bands of war-like Indians, and commanded the passage by land on the Pacific side into Sonora and Mexico. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 76 p. 34; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, p. 437; Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861* (R. P. Bieber, ed., Glendale, California, 1932), 260.

43. The Zuñi River had been partially explored by Simpson as far as Zuñi. Abert to Sitgreaves, November 18, 1850, Ms., L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.: *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, p. 4.

44. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, pp. 4, 11.

started. The command pursued a general westerly course across the present state of Arizona. Marching along the 35th parallel, Sitgreaves passed north of the San Francisco Mountains and through the Yavapai Indian country. On November 5 the expedition reached the Colorado River about 240 miles above Fort Yuma.⁴⁵ From this point Sitgreaves had intended to explore the river upward to the Grand Cañon and determine accurately the mouth of the Virgin River. But the exhausted condition of the animals and the scanty food supply caused him to abandon this plan. He moved southward along the east bank of the Colorado until he arrived at Camp Yuma. The expedition had travelled 657 miles from Zuñi and had been on the journey more than two months. Although the official exploration ended at Camp Yuma, Sitgreaves continued westward across the California desert to San Diego.⁴⁶

The march was not entirely without incident. In the San Francisco Mountain region, the silence of the night was occasionally broken by the cry of a panther. During the night of October 14, the camp was alarmed by the stampede of mules caused by the roaring of a panther or some other wild animal. Fortunately the terrified animals ran into a gorge near the camp, with but one outlet, and the men succeeded in quieting them. In the course of the march Sitgreaves came across encampments of Yavapai and Yuma Indians. In several instances the Indians fled, leaving their belongings behind. To secure their friendship, Sitgreaves did not permit his men to pilfer, but left in the abandoned lodges "small presents of tobacco, handkerchiefs, and knives." The Mohave seemed more bold than the Yavapai. On November 7, while the expedition was moving down the Colorado, it was overtaken by a band of about 200 men, women, and children. These professed considerable friend-

45. T. E. Farish in his *History of Arizona* says that Sitgreaves struck the Colorado River about 160 miles above Fort Yuma. In his itinerary, Sitgreaves places this point at 243 miles above the post. Farish, *opus cit.*, II, 17-18; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, p. 24.

46. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, pp. 5-20, 24-29.



ship but proved a nuisance by their trading demands and pilfering. The Yuma were hostile. On November 17 a band of about fifty warriors, after despatching a straggler, made a general attack. A sharp engagement followed in which the Indians were beaten with the loss of four dead and several wounded. Sitgreaves' party suffered no loss.⁴⁷

Sitgreaves, who kept a journal of the expedition, made his report to Colonel Abert, February 7, 1853. The region between the San Francisco Mountains and the Colorado River he described as barren and devoid of interest. He characterized it as a succession of mountain ranges and desert plains, the latter having an altitude of about 5,000 feet above sea level. Below the point where the explorers reached the Colorado, irregular lines of rugged mountains enclosed the valley; at several points the mountains skirted the river bank so closely that it scarcely left room for a roadway at the base. The passage of these defiles proved to be the most difficult portions of the journey, requiring long detours over extremely high naked cliffs. To cross these, the men were obliged to break stepping places in the rock for the mules and to assist them in their ascent by means of ropes. Extensive flat spurs, hard, gravelly, and destitute of vegetation, jutted out everywhere. Though the journey was full of hardships, the men suffering from intense heat and lack of water, Sitgreaves had succeeded in carrying out his instructions. The result of his exploration was an interesting itinerary, a valuable map, and various scientific reports on the new region.⁴⁸

Two years later Brevet Major James H. Carleton, First Dragoons, made a geographic and topographic reconnaissance in the upper Rio Grande valley. Pursuant to orders from Brevet Major and Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of New Mexico, W. A. Nichols, a squadron of cavalry, H and K, First Dragoons, commanded by Major

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14, 17-20, 37.

48. The reports were accompanied by excellent illustrations of landscapes, mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, plants, and phases of Indian life. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 33-178.

Carleton and Lieutenant S. D. Sturgis—in all about 100 strong, with one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer—left Albuquerque on December 14, 1853. Carleton was directed to make a thorough reconnaissance of the country in the vicinity of Gran Quivira and to impress on the roving, thieving Apache the power of the federal government.⁴⁹

Carleton's line of march was along a portion of the route followed by Abert on his reconnaissance of New Mexico in 1846. For the first forty miles the route was down the left bank of the Rio Grande. Heavy rains and snow storms greatly impeded Carleton's progress. On December 16 the expedition reached Casa Colorada and left the river for the mountains toward the east. For several miles the road led up a gradually inclined plane toward a level *mesa* entirely destitute of water. Continuing eastward the exploring party came to los Puertos de Abó, two passes in the mountains. Thus far, Carleton considered the road the finest in New Mexico. Marching through the pass on the left, he came to the ruins of Abó.⁵⁰ Very little of interest or value was found here. The appearance of the surrounding country was cheerless and desolate.

Leaving the ruins of Abó and marching northward over a rolling and partially broken country, the command came to the ruins of Quaraí. Striking out northward the expedition came to Manzano⁵¹ and Torreón. From the latter village the command retraced its steps toward Abó and

49. Nichols to Carleton, December 3, 1853. Ms., Letters Received, Adjutant General, Old Files Section, Executive Division, Adjutant General's Office. Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.); *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 296.

50. The Pass of Abó, Carleton believed, afforded an excellent route for the passage of a railroad. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 300.

51. This small village of some 500 inhabitants was typical of some of the New Mexican towns of its size. It was built partly of logs set on end, *jacal* fashion, the chinks filled with mortar and the roofs covered with earth and partly *adobe*. The reputation of Manzano was quite notorious. It harbored "more murderers, robbers, common thieves, scoundrels, and vile abandoned women" than "any other town of its size in New Mexico." Carleton maintained that "there was not a single redeeming trait of disposition or habits to be found within its borders." *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 315, 316.

then struck out southeast toward Gran Quivira,⁵² reaching the ruins on December 21. Carleton's findings at Gran Quivira were similar to those at Abó and Quaraí. On the following day the expedition started on its return. Striking out northward, it skirted the ruins of Quaraí, passed Manzano and Torreón and came to Tajique. From there the line of march continued northward over a rolling, broken, and well-timbered country to the hamlet of Chililí. Marching northward and then westward, the command was back in Albuquerque on December 24.⁵³

Carleton's expedition dispelled the notion that Gran Quivira had once been the seat of an ancient Indian civilization whose inhabitants had constructed "paved streets, fluted columns, ornate friezes, sculptured façades, aqueducts, fountains, colonnades, and statues." The skill, taste, and opulence formerly attributed to the inhabitants of Gran Quivira, Carleton believed, was a figment of the imagination. Abó, Quaraí, and Gran Quivira had probably been built under the direction of Spanish conquerors and missionaries of the sixteenth century, as in other portions of Spanish America, and did not represent an ancient civilization.⁵⁴

Carleton's impressions of the New Mexican population are far from flattering. At various points along the line of march the inhabitants of the dirty little villages turned out *en masse* to get a glimpse of the soldiers. The groups were quite picturesque as well as grotesque. "Some were blanketed with *sombreros* and *cigarritos*; some with

52. A Gran Quivira had been visited by Coronado in June, 1542, while on his expedition into New Mexico in search of the seven fabled cities of *Cíbola*. But the Gran Quivira found by Coronado and described by Castañeda was not the same as represented by the ruins visited by Carleton. Coronado's town represented a lower order of civilization. For accounts of other Spanish expeditions in the Gran Quivira sector in the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see: J. L. Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, 1, 265-291;—, "Antonio de Espejo and his Journey to New Mexico," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 114-138; H. E. Bolton, *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (Los Angeles, 1932), I, 68-74; *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, pp. 306, 310-312.

53. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 316.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315; Bandelier *opus cit.*, pt. 2, pp. 114, 119, 577-591.

white washed and some with scarlet-dyed faces; some with *rebosos* and some nearly naked". In not a single *rancho* or village along the Rio Grande did Carleton find an indication of industry, cleanliness, or thrift. Indolence, squalid poverty, filth, and utter ignorance of everything beyond the corn fields and *acequias* were characteristic of the inhabitants along the east bank of the Rio Grande. Carleton was unable to impress or to intimidate the troublesome Indian bands; they had gone far to the south.⁵⁵ He had, however, secured valuable information about the country and its people.

For four years after Carleton's expedition, there was a lull in official exploring activity in the Department of New Mexico. Then the movement was revived with considerable vigor. In the fall of 1857 and winter of 1858, Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale led an exploring expedition from Fort Defiance to eastern California for the purpose of opening a wagon road. Beale's expedition was a phase of the government's elaborate Pacific Wagon Road program. Congress, by acts approved July 22, 1856, February 17, and March 3, 1857, appropriated more than one-half million dollars for the construction of western wagon roads. Of this amount, \$300,000 was to be spent for the construction of a road from Fort Ridgley through Fort Kearny, and South Pass to a point near Honey Lake, eastern California; \$200,000 for a road from El Paso to Fort Yuma; \$50,000 for a road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico Territory, to the Colorado River. Beale was entrusted with the survey and construction of the Fort Defiance-Colorado River road.⁵⁶ Camels were used as an experiment.⁵⁷

55. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 298, 315.

56. United States, *Statutes at Large*, X, 639, XI, 162-163.

57. For an account of the camel experiment in the United States, see Davis to Wayne, May 10, 1855, July 5, 1856, Davis to Porter, May 16, 1855, Davis to Palmer, February 23, 1857. Ms., Letter Books, Secretary of War, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington; Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903* (New York, 1912). May Humphreys Stacey, *Uncle Sam's Camels. The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward F. Beale, 1857-1858* (Cambridge, 1929, L. B. Lesley, ed.). 3-13, 119-136; Fred S. Perrine, "Uncle Sam's Camel Corps," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 434-444.

Beale's caravan, consisting of twenty-five camels accompanied by their attendants, Turks, Greeks, and Armenians—a total of fifty-six men—left San Antonio on June 25. Eight heavy wagons and two ambulances carried the supplies and equipment.⁵⁸ Moving along the southern route to El Paso, Beale travelled up the Rio Grande valley to Albuquerque. From there he dispatched his pack train to Zuñi by a direct route westward from the Gallo River, while he proceeded by way of Fort Defiance.⁵⁹

Beale reached Zuñi on August 29, and two days later the exploring expedition proper began. The caravan now comprised mules, camels, and a drove of 350 sheep.⁶⁰ A company of twenty men under Sergeant Armstrong served as an escort. The route westward was mainly along the 35th parallel. For the most part Beale followed the route of Sitgreaves' and Whipple's surveys.⁶¹

His line of march was south of the San Francisco Mountains as Whipple's survey had been. Sitgreaves had passed north. After a week's travel over a comparatively level tableland, Beale forded the little Colorado. The explorers were now in a rich game country; elk, antelopes, and deer, besides beavers and coyotes, were seen in large numbers. Instead of continuing the march westward, Beale was compelled to shift his course some thirty miles to the north because of the Cañon Diablo.⁶² By September 11,

58. In the latter part of September, when Beale reached Bill William's Mountains, four of the wagons and twelve of the escort were sent back to Albuquerque. Stacey, *opus cit.*, 43-105.

59. Fort Defiance was established in 1852 as a protection against the Navaho Indians. The post was in the heart of the Navaho country, about 190 miles west of Albuquerque. It was very strategically located, being near the mouth of the Cañon Bonita, a favorite resort of the Navaho, and near fertile valleys and good water. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, pp. 425-426; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 15-34.

60. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 2, 38.

61. Between July, 1853, and March, 1854, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, Topographical Engineers, made a survey for a railroad route to the Pacific. The terminal points were Fort Smith and Los Angeles. The route was along the Canadian, across the Panhandle of Texas and New Mexico, and westward to the Great Colorado, across the Mojave valley and the California desert. George L. Albright, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads* (Berkeley, 1921), 105-117.

62. Beale's guide, Saavedra, described this chasm as a "rent in the plain about 100 yards across with precipitous sides of white rock." It extended due north and south from thirty to forty miles. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, p. 46.

Beale reached the base of the San Francisco Mountains. Striking out over a picturesque country of open forest and mountain valley, the expedition moved in a general westerly course for about a month. The Great Colorado was reached on October 18;⁶³ the crossing was made in an India-rubber boat near the present Mohave City, Arizona, some 200 miles above Fort Yuma. Four days were spent in transporting the supplies to the west bank of the river. To Beale's great relief, the camels swam boldly and without mishap across the rapidly flowing stream. Ten mules and two horses, however, were drowned. Following the United States surveyor's trail from the river to Los Angeles, the train moved on to Fort Tejón to secure provisions.⁶⁴

On New Year's Day, 1858, Beale started homeward on the winter journey. The Colorado was again reached on January 23, about twelve miles above Whipple's Crossing. This time the entire command was transported to the east side on the *General Jesup*, Captain George A. Johnson in command. Lieutenant James L. White with fifteen soldiers and as many "rugged mountain men" served as an escort. Upon recrossing the Colorado, Beale found that his wagons had clearly defined the road he had explored the previous summer. Indians had already commenced to follow the broad, well beaten trail; horse, mule, moccasin, and bare-footed tracks were in great evidence.⁶⁵ The return trip was essentially over the outward bound trail. On February 21 Beale reached Ojo del Gallo, the main road to Fort Defiance, the end of the Trail.⁶⁶ Beale had travelled about 4,000 miles; his journey extended through a wilderness of forest, plain,

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-76.

64. Bancroft committed several errors in connection with this expedition. He stated that Beale reached the Colorado in January, 1858. According to Beale's journal the expedition reached the Colorado on October 18. Bancroft also conveys the impression that Beale returned eastward immediately upon reaching the river whereas the exploring party crossed the river and moved to Los Angeles and Fort Tejón for supplies. Beale did reach the Colorado on January 23, but he was then on his homeward journey. Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 494-495; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, p. 76; Stacey, *opus cit.*, 113-115.

65. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 77-78.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-87.

and desert. He had tested the value of camels and marked a new route to the Pacific. The practicability of a wagon route along the 35th parallel was now thoroughly established.

Beale's trip was rather uneventful. Until arriving at the Colorado, the expedition did not meet more than a dozen Indians, and these were of a timid and inoffensive character. In the Mohave Villages, Beale found a "fine-looking, comfortable, fat, and merry set." These Indians surrounded his camp and were eager to trade melons, beans, and corn for old wornout shirts and handkerchiefs.⁶⁷ Upon crossing the Colorado in October, Beale prepared his report for the Secretary of War. His description, as contained in his journal, coincided with that of Sitgreaves and Whipple. From Fort Defiance to the divide of Bill Williams's Mountains, the country was fertile; after that the aspect was barren.⁶⁸ Beale described his route as the shortest from the western frontier by 300 miles, the most level, well watered, and well grassed.⁶⁹ He believed that this road would ultimately become the great immigrant route to California, as well as that by which stock from New Mexico would reach the states. To relieve the California immigrants and stock drivers, Beale recommended that water dams, military posts, and bridges be constructed. He asked for an appropriation of \$100,000 to carry out these improvements. He considered such an investment a step in the direction of economy since it would protect one line instead of a dozen different routes.⁷⁰ These recommendations were partially fulfilled. By an act approved June 14, 1858, Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the construction of bridges and the improvement of crossings of streams along the road between Fort Smith and Albuquerque. The same act provided that \$100,000 be spent in completing the connected sections

67. *Ibid.*, p. 76; Bonsal, *opus cit.* 214.

68. Annie E. Whittaker, "The Frontier Policy of the United States in the Mexican Cession, 1845-1860" (M. A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 116.

69. Bonsal, *opus cit.*, p. 213.

70. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 2-3.

from Albuquerque to the Colorado River. Thus the basis was laid for a through route from Fort Smith to California. In 1858 the Secretary of War reported that Beale's route was being used daily by immigrants and cattle.⁷¹ Due to Indian disturbances, the road was not entirely completed by June, 1860.⁷²

To test the practicability of the route along the 35th parallel in the winter season, Beale conducted an elaborate expedition from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to the Colorado River. The survey commenced in the fall of 1858 and lasted nine months. In addition to Indian guides, hunters and engineers, Beale had the services of a military escort of 130 men and two pieces of artillery.⁷³

The expedition left Fort Smith on October 28. With the exception of the stretch between North Fork and Walnut Creek, the course, as far as Hatch's Ranch, was mainly along the south bank of the Canadian. This was essentially Marcy's route of 1849. Hatch's Ranch, about twelve miles above Anton Chico, was reached on December 28; there the exploring party went into winter quarters. While the command was encamped at this point, Beale, with a party of ten men, examined the country between the rancho and the Canadian on a line due east and found it highly satisfactory.⁷⁴

On February 26 the march was resumed. Crossing the Pecos about five miles above Anton Chico, the expedition passed through Cañon Blanco. Skirting along the base of the Sandía Mountains, Beale reached Albuquerque on March 3. The remainder of the journey to the Colorado was mainly along the route followed by Beale on his previous expedition across the Gallo River, through Zuñi, the Little Colorado, and the base of the San Francisco Mountains. The exploring party made a number of improvements along

71. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 109, p. 484; United States, *Statutes at Large*, XI, 336.

72. *H. Misc. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 98, pp. 1-2.

73. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 42, pp. 8, 16, 53.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the road. Beale arrived at the Colorado on May 1 and was met by a detachment of federal troops under Brevet Major L. A. Armistead.⁷⁵ After spending about seven weeks in the settlements of eastern California, the expedition returned to Albuquerque, arriving on July 29, 1859.⁷⁶

In his report to Secretary of War Floyd, December 15, 1859, Beale again spoke of the road along the 35th parallel in the highest terms. The country between Fort Smith and Albuquerque was very attractive. The wide and level bottom of the Canadian offered a general line of travel all the way from the last settlements of Arkansas to the first settlements of New Mexico territory. This region was plentifully supplied with grass, wood, and water. Beale's findings of the region between Albuquerque and the Colorado coincided with the report of his previous expeditions. His survey of 1858-1859 again proved the practicability of a wagon route along this line and showed that the winter season offered no obstacles to the passage of men and wagons, or to travel of any description.

Beale's surveys, supplemented by improvements of the road between Fort Smith and Albuquerque and the construction of a road between Albuquerque and the Colorado River, laid the basis for a through route from the Arkansas frontier to California. A direct artery of travel and commerce to the Pacific was thus being established under the authority and direction of the federal government.⁷⁷

The year 1859 was marked by intense exploring activity in various parts of the Department of New Mexico. In the summer of that year Captain John N. Macomb, Topographical Engineer, who had been active in surveys along the Great Lakes since 1843,⁷⁸ led an exploring expedition from the settlements of New Mexico to those of Southern

75. These troops had operated against the Mohave, who had been on the war path. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-53.

77. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 109, p. 484; *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 42, pp. 1-2; United States, *Statutes at Large*, XI, 336.

78. Abert to Cooper, June 29, 1854, Ms. L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.

Utah. Macomb was to determine the practicability of opening a wagon road in the neighborhood of San Juan River between Santa Fé and the southern settlements of Utah. Twenty thousand dollars was set aside to defray the expenses of this expedition.⁷⁹

Macomb received his instructions on May 28, but because of difficulties in procuring transportation, he did not take the field until July 12. The expedition was accompanied by a detachment of infantry under Lieutenant Milton Cogswell, Doctor J. S. Newberry, geologist, and several assistants to the commanding officer.⁸⁰ Setting out from Santa Fé, Macomb followed for a considerable distance almost the same trail that Fathers Escalante and Domínguez had travelled eighty-three years before.⁸¹ He marched northwestward, crossing the Rio Grande at the old Indian pueblo of San Juan, and following up the valley of the Rio Chama to a point about fifty-five miles above Abiquiú. At Laguna de los Caballos, the explorers crossed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and those of California and struck the headwaters of the San Juan River. Macomb crossed the San Juan in latitude 37° 14' 48" north and longitude 107° 2' 27" west and followed a westerly course for about seventy miles over a rugged country intersected by rapid mountain streams. Continuing the laborious march for some 120 miles over a gloomy and barren country, Macomb came to Ojo Verde.⁸² Thus far, the

79. A. A. Humphreys to Macomb, April 6, 1859. Ms., L. R. A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 146.

80. F. P. Fisher served as assistant astronomer, C. H. Dimmock, civil engineer, made a sketch of the route, and Messrs Dorsey and Vail took care of the instruments and kept daily records. *Ibid.*, p. 151; J. N. Macomb, *Report of Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, New Mexico to the Junction of Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, 1859* (Washington, 1876), 7.

81. J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa in Carson Valley in 1859* (Washington, 1876), 13-14, 489-495; H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1911), 392; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *Romance of the Colorado River* (New York, 1902), 170-171.

82. Ojo Verde was about 340 miles from Santa Fé. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 140.

greater part of the march from Abiquiú was along the old Spanish Trail.⁸³

Macomb left the main body encamped at Ojo Verde Spring and with a party of nine men proceeded westward for about thirty miles. After considerable toil he succeeded in forcing his way to within about six miles of the junction of the Grand and Green Rivers. There he was completely baffled and compelled to turn back.⁸⁴ The last thirty miles were extremely rough and dangerous. Macomb considered that stretch of country absolutely worthless and impracticable. Returning to Ojo Verde, the reunited party travelled southward for about seventy miles until it struck the San Juan river in latitude $37^{\circ} 16' 27''$ and longitude $109^{\circ} 24' 43''$. On September 2, Macomb reached the San Juan and followed along its right bank until he came opposite Cañon Largo, in latitude $36^{\circ} 43' 28''$ and longitude $107^{\circ} 43' 29''$. In the course of the march the explorers observed many ruins of houses and found many fragments of pottery, signifying that the valley had once been occupied by a race kindred to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.⁸⁵ The San Juan was forded on September 15 opposite the Cañon Largo. The march was continued southwestward to San José Spring. From there the expedition moved down the valley of the Puerco for about forty miles, crossed the southern spur of the Nacimiento Mountains, passed through Jemez, and arrived at Santa Fé in October.⁸⁶

Macomb's exploration showed that no practicable route existed between the New Mexican settlements and those of Utah, between the Spanish Trail on the north and the wagon route along the 35th parallel on the south. The ex-

83. Macomb stated that heretofore this trail had not been accurately laid out upon any map. While it had been the commercial route between California and New Mexico in the days of Spanish and Mexican rule, in the American period it had been superseded by routes to the north and south. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150; Macomb, *opus cit.*, 5-6.

84. Dellenbaugh, *opus cit.*, 171.

85. For an account of the ruins of northern New Mexico, see Bandelier, *opus cit.*, p. 2, pp. 37-86.

86. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pp. 150-151.

pedition not only settled the question of practicable wagon routes across that belt of country but also contributed valuable geographical and scientific knowledge.⁸⁷ Macomb's report was accompanied by an excellent map.

While Macomb was moving northwest from Santa Fé, Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, commander of the Department of New Mexico, sent out a series of exploring expeditions to examine the condition of the roads, to note eligible sites for military posts, and to overawe the Indians. In the summer of 1859, Lieutenant Alexander E. Steen, Third Infantry, made a reconnaissance from Fort Garland⁸⁸ eastward to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas and then westward to the Rio Grande and up that stream to the San Juan Mountains. Steen left Fort Garland on June 15 with a detachment of forty men to reconnoiter for wagon roads. In moving eastward, he followed the permanent water courses and found wood and grass in great abundance. For about one-half the distance the road was well defined and without obstacles. The return route was somewhat more direct and fertile, but lacking in water supply. On the outward trip, Steen made an examination of three passes over the Culebra Mountain range east of the post and found the one that was being used was the most practicable except during the winter months.

Returning to Fort Garland, Steen explored the country westward to the Rio Grande and the San Juan Mountains. On leaving the post he followed the base of the White Mountains and the Moscho range to the Cañon or Punche Pass at the northern end of the San Luís Valley. Then turning westward and leaving the valley, he crossed a spur of the Sierra Madre and entered the Tunache Pass. Crossing it, he continued westward, following the base of the Sierra Madre to the Rio Grande Cañon. He struck the Rio Grande near the junction of the north and south forks and continued

87. *Ibid.*, p. 146; Macomb, *opus cit.*, 1.

88. Fort Garland, situated in the Utah country, about eighty-five miles north of Taos, was established in 1858 as a protection against the Apache and Utah. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 3, p. 778.

eastward to Fort Garland. Steen had found practicable wagon roads.⁸⁹

In the southern part of the department, Captain Thomas Claiborne, Mounted Rifles, led a large reconnoitering party, in an attempt to find a pass through the Sierra Blanca Mountains. With 120 men he proceeded eastward from Fort Stanton⁹⁰ to the Pecos. The course was generally southeast along the Rio Bonito and Hondo. From the Pecos, Claiborne struck out northward and moved along the west bank of the stream till he came to Hatch's Ranch, where the reconnaissance ended. The command had been on the march from June 9 to July 3. The attempt to find a pass through the Sierra Blanca Mountains to the plains as far as the Pecos proved a failure. Claiborne reported that the region explored was impracticable for a wagon road. The only practicable route eastward to the Pecos would be to follow the valley of the Rio Bonito as far as the junction with the Ruidoso.⁹¹

Several exploring parties also operated from Anton Chico in the interest of better roads. Lieutenant W. H. Jackson, Mounted Rifles, made a survey from Anton Chico northeastward to the main road from Independence. The purpose of the survey was to find a wagon road from Anton Chico to the Point of Rocks or to a point between it and Rabbit Ear Creek⁹² on the Santa Fé trail. With a command of fifty-four Mounted Rifles, Jackson left Hatch's

89. Steen to Wilkins, August 10, 1859, Ms. L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong. 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 295, 313, 330-331.

90. Fort Stanton, established in May, 1855, was named after Captain H. W. Stanton, who had lost his life in an engagement with the Mescalero Apache. The post was favorably situated on the Bonita River, about twenty miles east of the White Mountains, and served as a salutary influence in keeping the Indians of the neighboring region in check. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 70; John S. Billings, *Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington, 1870), 248; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York, 1864), 22.

91. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 313, 328-330; Claiborne to Wilkins, August 9, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

92. This stream is at the head of the north fork of the Canadian, about thirteen miles within New Mexico, on the Santa Fé road. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 103, p. 2; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, p. 313.

Ranch on August 7. His course was generally northeastward. On the third day he reached the Canadian, and within two weeks he was back in Anton Chico, having travelled 155 miles to Rabbit Ear Creek. On the return march Jackson followed the Santa Fé trail westward to Fort Union⁹³ and Las Vegas and then struck out southward to Anton Chico. Jackson's report was favorable. The country travelled over was highly suitable for a wagon road, possessing an abundant supply of wood, water, and fine grass at all camping places and excellent shelter for animals during the winter season.⁹⁴

Lieutenant Henry M. Lazelle, Eighth Infantry, also made a reconnaissance from Anton Chico. As commander of the escort to the Texas-New Mexico Boundary Commission, his march extended eastward from Anton Chico to the Pecos and southward along the right bank of that stream as far as Fort Lancaster, Texas. The command, which was accompanied by a train of twenty-two wagons, carrying 57,000 pounds of freight,⁹⁵ was back in camp on July 8. The expedition had been twenty-one days on the march and had covered a distance of 279 miles. Lazelle found the route along the Pecos excellent, being plentifully supplied with water and good grass. By using this road, Lazelle pointed out about 200 miles would be saved between Santa Fé and Fort Lancaster.⁹⁶

While army units were moving eastward to the Pecos, Brevet Major W. H. Gordon, Third Infantry, led a reconnoitering expedition westward to the Burro Mountains. The purpose of the reconnaissance was the selection of a site for

93. Fort Union, situated about 100 miles northeast of Santa Fé, was established in 1851, by Colonel E. V. Sumner as a check upon the northern Apache and Utah. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 203; Billings, *opus cit.* 260.

94. Jackson to Wilkins, September 8, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

95. Lazelle to Wilkins, July 10, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

96. The distance between Santa Fé and Fort Lancaster by way of the Pecos was 525 miles, while the distance between the same points via the Rio Grande was 725 miles. Bonneville to Thomas, August 31, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

a military post and to overawe the Apache. Gordon left Fort Fillmore⁹⁷ on June 27 with an organization of more than 100 men.⁹⁸ Assistant Surgeon George E. Cooper and Lieutenant T. W. Rowland were attached to the command. The course was mainly westward toward the Gila. On July 5, at the eastern base of the Burro Mountains, Gordon divided his command. Leaving Lieutenant Rowland with about one-half of his men at Ojo del Lucero, Gordon and Dr. Cooper with fifty mounted men and a guide advanced westward toward the valley of the Gila. After examining the different cañons, Gordon came upon Lobo Spring. He then retraced his steps eastward till he reached Ojo del Lucero and rejoined the rest of his command. Gordon made a careful examination of the ground, wood, water, and grass and was thoroughly convinced of its feasibility for a military post. Again leaving Lieutenant Rowland with a portion of the command, Gordon struck out northward to Santa Lucía. After visiting the camp of Mangus Colorado, where he was cordially received, Gordon moved down the Gila. On July 17 the expedition left Ojo del Lucero and ten days later was back at Fort Fillmore.⁹⁹

Between the opening of the Mexican and Civil wars, government officers and engineers made no less than fifteen official exploring expeditions within and across the territory of New Mexico, or the Ninth Military Department. The attempts of the official explorers to find better or shorter routes and eligible sites for military posts, and to impress the Indians with the power of the federal government added materially to the knowledge about portions of country hitherto unknown. Mountain cañon, desert, river, and water-

97. Fort Fillmore was located on the Brasito, on the east side of the Rio Grande, about forty miles north of El Paso. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 58; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 203.

98. Gordon's command composed of company D, First Dragoons, forty-eight men, Company H, Third Infantry, fifty-two men, and a portion of Company C, Mounted Rifles. Gordon to Bonneville, July 28, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

99. Gordon to Bonneville, July 28, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

hole, as well as practicable and impracticable routes, were accurately charted. The frontier was broken up, and the Far West was being prepared for greater trade, travel, and settlement.

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BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, II

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM *

CHAPTER II

WINNING HIS SPURS

OF his boyhood days Bourke entered in his notebooks little more than the glimpses which may be gleaned from his "Family Memories." Just one anecdote must suffice, the recording of which was occasioned by the fact that, at the time of his mother's death, the undertaker was Charles Nantly.

[December 15, 1888] . . . His brother "Ned" had been my favorite schoolmate; a brighter, more thorough-going young imp never lived. Together we attended Zane St. Grammar School, where, among the nearly 500 boys, if the least mischief transpired and Ned Nantly wasn't in it, I've simply forgotten about it, that's all. Ned and I made up our minds to go to Pike's Peak. (This was way back in 1858 when Pike's Peak was "booming.")¹ Well, we stole and saved every glass-bottle, every shred of linen or woolen, all the old iron, newspapers and such riff-raff as could be accumulated and disposed of them to an old one-eyed pirate, who was a junk-dealer on Dock St. We realized something over \$13.00 (thirteen dollars) but our designs were detected and frustrated, I can't remember exactly how; it is enough to say that the State of Colorado lost two very valuable citizens; we might have been hanged for pony-stealing or something of that kind, had we carried our project into effect. . . .

We are left to surmise whether Bourke's father used his cuss word when this particularly boyish plot was discovered, but at least it is evident that Nantly found in young Bourke a most congenial spirit.

Three years later our eaglet was more successful in escaping from the parental nest. There were dark days

* The first installment of this study, based chiefly on the field notebooks of the late Captain John G. Bourke, U. S. A., appeared in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* of January, 1933.

1. Probably Bourke should have dated this enterprise in 1859, when he was about thirteen years old.

for our country in the summer of 1862 and many a northern youth broke away from restraint and got into the fight to preserve the Union. Bourke's mother did not want him to go, and he was too young anyhow—his birth date was June 23, 1846, so that he was little past sixteen when he ran away from home and enlisted as a private in Company E of the Pennsylvania cavalry. Doubtless by that time he had pretty well attained his growth; recruiting officers were not over-careful that summer—and Bourke's age went down as nineteen.²

In his later notebooks there are occasional allusions to his Civil War service, but because of his natural reticence they are very meager in detailed information. One comes from the year 1880:

November 2 [1880].³ . . . At supper, Colonel Gardner and I spoke of my first meeting with his family which happened in this wise. The war of the Rebellion was at its height and treason was on the top wave of anticipated success, when in the summer of 1862, I enlisted. I was a harum-scarum boy, ambitious, adventurous, hot-headed and patriotic. I was past (15) fifteen and in my own conceit just the stuff out of which Generals should be made. I soon had a carbine in my hands and was "going through the motions" at *Carlisle, Penna.* Early in the winter of 1862, our Regiment (the 15th Penna. Cavalry) was ordered to *Louisville, Ky.*, and *Nashville, Tenn.*, arriving at the later place in time to participate in the seven days' fight at *Stone River* under General W. S. Rosecrans.⁴ While passing through Ohio, we

2. Yet family tradition has it that Bourke swore that he was *eighteen!* Very possibly the recruiting officer was another Irishman; here was a "broth of a lad" eager to get in, and it is not difficult to imagine the mathematical reasoning of the two. Bourke had passed his sixteenth birthday and, therefore, was in his *seventeenth* year—and he could truly say that he was "go'in' on *eighteen*."—"thin, begorrah, yez goin' on *nointeen*," says the genial sergeant; and that seems to have been the entry made—except that there was room for only the last word! Their "mental reservation" explains the later error on the part of those who thought that Bourke was born in 1843. (e. g., *Journal of American Folklore*, IX, 139).

3. At this date Bourke was connected with Headquarters, Department of the Platte, and was on an official visit to the Spotted Tail (Rosebud) Sioux Agency in Nebraska.

4. Bourke's service to the end of the Civil War was with this cavalry regiment, in the Department of the Cumberland. Later he was voted a congressional medal of honor "for gallantry in action at Stone River, Tenn., December 31, 1862, and January 1, 1863." *Official Army Register* (1896); Heitman, *Historical Register* (1903).

were received with an exuberance of welcome and hospitality which could not easily be understood by people who did not share in the operations of those years of anxiety and peril. Ohio was especially charitable and warm-hearted to soldiers passing through her limits; when our three (3) trains reached Belle-fontaine, a very large crowd had assembled at the depot and we were at once beset with invitations to partake of refreshments at different houses. My elbow was touched and, upon turning around, I was accosted by an unusually handsome, bright-eyed young lady of the dangerous age of "sweet sixteen." She said that her father and mother would be glad to have me come to their house and bring a half dozen of my comrades with me for luncheon. I complied gladly with the invitation, as did my friends, and a right royal lunch we had. The young lady gave me her name—Gardner—and said she would at all times be glad to hear from me. I did send her several notes expressing my thankfulness for her courtesies and received very pleasant replies; but my life at that period was so eventful and so busy that continued correspondence with anybody was an impossibility and soon the acquaintance on my side had faded away into the remembrance of favors received from a lovely girl.

In speaking of this to General Crook, himself an Ohioan, he remarked when I gave the name of the young lady—"Gardner—why I know those Gardners very well, one of the boys was on my Staff during the war." So, in this way, I was thrown against Col. Gardner, with whom this evening, as upon other occasions, I have had pleasant conversations regarding his lovely sister, since married and dead.

Bourke was honorably mustered out on July 5, 1865, and a little later (October 17) he was appointed (as from Illinois on the recommendation of General George H. Thomas) a cadet in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. Here he passed the next four years, graduating on June 15, 1869, the eleventh in a class of thirty-nine. Tradition has it that his rating would have been even better, had he not declined to give the authorities certain information they wanted regarding some escapade among the cadets. Here again it is tantalizing that our knowledge of

Bourke himself must be gotten indirectly from the notes he has jotted down about various friends and associates. Two entries are quoted, one of which centers around one of his fellow cadets.

April 6th 1880.—My friend Lieut. Philip Reade . . . is one of the most original geniuses I've ever encountered. . .

Reade was brought up in good circumstances,—a great misfortune for him—as poverty would have stimulated his ambition and given his intellectual powers something to work for. At the Milt. Academy, he was a shrewd, bright fellow, quick as a flash to seize upon the subtle points of a mathematical demonstration, but unjust to himself in the total lack of application to study.

He had a number of escapades while there—some of them exceedingly laughable. I remember that he climbed into the recitation room of the “immortals” (in math.) of our class and during the absence of instructors and janitors set about an examination of the instructor's desk to find the list of “subjects” for the approaching “January.” Professor Church happened along at the time and took a notion to go in this very room, the door of which Phil, very fortunately had locked and, while Prof. Church was waiting for the janitor, “old Luke,” to come up with the key, [he] boldly slipped down by a rope from the window and reached ground in safety.

He was unsuccessful in that venture, but undismayed, for we next heard of him doing one of the boldest things ever dreamed of at West Point, that breeding place of courage. Reade bribed Captain Warner's negro servant and one cold morning, just after Christmas, he entered Warner's bed room at reveille dressed in the negro's coat and blacked up like a minstrel. It was so dark and Warner was so sleepy that he never suspected anything wrong, and beyond swearing at the “d-d negro” for his clumsiness, said nothing. Reade took out Warner's boots to be blacked and returned for his clothes which he brushed with so much care that he found in the pockets of his pantaloons the memoranda of the topics each cadet in the “Immortals” (the section presided over by Warner) would be required to discuss or demonstrate at the Examination. Need it be said that the Academic Board was amazed at the profound knowledge displayed by the young gentlemen whose recitation marks

for the preceding six months had apparently shown them to be idlers or block-heads! Yet such was the case; the section did magnificently and for a long time, no one was the wiser; not until Phil Reade had left the Academy did the secret leak out.

Appointed to a Lientenancy in the Regular Army, Reade drifted out to the plains of Colorado and Kansas. . . .

In September, 1880, Bourke was sent from Omaha on official business to Washington and found opportunity not only for a few days with his mother in Philadelphia but also for a brief visit to West Point—the first since his graduation in 1869.

Saturday, September 18th. (New York) Received a telegram from my class-mate, Sam Tillman, that he was on his way down from West Point to see me; punctual to appointment, he arrived at the Brevoort at 7 P. M., and arranged for our return together to the academy.

Sunday, Sept. 19th. Tillman breakfasted with me at the Brevoort and then I went to mass at Saint Stephens, on 28th Street, where the music was of the highest order. We lunched together at Delmonico's up-town saloon and then took the Hudson River R. R. train for West Point.

My reception by the Bachelor's Mess was extremely cordial. Professor Kendrick, the president of the Mess, my venerable old instructor in Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, was very glad to see me, and so also were the many good fellows with whom I had been a cadet or with whom I had served on the frontier and from whom I had been parted for years. There was Perrine, whom I had failed to catch in N. Y., and whom I had not seen since the night of our Graduation Dinner at Delmonico's in June, 1869; Frank Michler, last seen at Fort Mojave, Arizona, in 1873, Ned Wood, George Anderson, Braden, Wherry, Dr. Alexander, Godfrey, Sears, Bergland, & others.

The Point itself was unchanged. In beauty still unrivalled. The Point still was young—I alone had grown old. I called upon the Superintendent, Genl. Schofield, who received me courteously, and then visited Professors De Janon, Bass, and Andrews—the first two being very glad to meet me, but the last showing a little pique at my de-

clining to serve in his Department.⁵ I was also most cordially greeted by Professor Larned who met me on the sidewalk. The "Custer" Statue is a fearful monstrosity and ought to be pulled down.

Upon his graduation in June, 1869, young Bourke was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 3rd U. S. Cavalry, and he was directed to report for active duty at Fort Craig, New Mexico.

5. In another connection under date of December 10, 1888, Bourke refers to "the peremptory order telegraphed to Crook, August 21, 1872 (mailed from Los Angeles, Cal., to Prescott, Arizona) directing me to report at once to the Superintendent of the U. S. Military Academy for duty as instructor in the Department of Languages, —which detail I succeeded in having revoked in order to remain on duty in the campaign against the Apaches."

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOUTHWEST

Veteran of nearly three years of service in the Civil War and now graduated after four years of study at West Point, Lieutenant Bourke had, nevertheless, barely turned his twenty-third year when he bade adieu to his family and friends in Philadelphia and turned his face westward. From September 29, 1869, when he reported at Fort Craig to the spring of 1875, he was to see strenuous service in New Mexico and Arizona. What army life in those years might do to a man can be appreciated in a rather startling way by comparing the two photographs of Bourke in 1869 and 1875.¹

Apparently Bourke did not at once adopt his methodical, uniform system of note keeping. For these six years, five notebooks have survived which are of four different types, and the earliest entries are of the year 1872.² In order, therefore, to see the Southwest and its people as Bourke first saw them; and in order to become acquainted

1. For the latter, see the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, frontispiece.

2. Beginning in February, 1876, Bourke adopted a leather-bound type of book, measuring about 4½"x7½" but varying considerably in thickness, with ruled pages.

with army life as Bourke knew it—in its personnel and in its activities—it will be necessary to take advantage of various entries which he made in subsequent parts of his records.

April 6th [1878] . . . Capt. A. K. Long, of the Subsistence Department . . . was the first officer with whom I travelled after receiving my commission. He was going to Fort Union, New Mexico, to be depot commissary and I was journeying to Fort Craig, New Mexico, a post on the Rio Grande about 200 miles below Santa Fé. We met in Saint Louis, at the R. R. depot of the Missouri Pacific R. R. and travelled together to Kansas City, thence over the Kansas Pacific R. R. to Sheridan, Kansas, (a little town 809 miles West of St. Louis). We stopped at Fort Harker, Kansas, a post built for the protection of settlers against the Cheyenne Indians, then very bad. From Fort Harker, we went north 30 miles to the camp on the Republican (Solomon's Fork) of Major Tilford's Battalion of the 7th Cavalry, with which my friend Tom March was then serving. Unfortunately, a cold strong wind was blowing, so we couldn't go hunting the buffalo as we intended, but we had all the buffalo meat we wanted to eat. In going over the Kansas Pacific R.R., herds of buffalo several times ran across the track directly in front of the engine and passengers had a lively time popping at them from the car windows; one or two seemed to be wounded, but none were killed. Ellsworth and Abilene, in those days, were hard towns, filled with the worst dregs of Texas and Missouri society, not to forget the gamblers, dead-beats and cut-throats who had flocked in from all points of the compass, north, south, east and west. Vigilance committees had been organized previous to our arrival and many victims of outraged justice had already expiated their crimes, without much time for repentance.

At Sheridan we took the stage and travelled 330 weary miles to Fort Union, which was then the Head-Qrs. of our Reg't. I was temporarily assigned to the command of Company "I" of the Regiment, and remained at the post a fortnight. Thence, I went to Santa Fé, 110 miles, and from there, a wearisome jog of 182 more to Fort Craig. . . .

August 3. [1879] The newspapers contain the notice of the death at Hudson, N. Y., of general debility, on July 31st, of Major John V. DuBois, (retired) late 3rd U. S. Cavalry.

Major Dubois was the commanding officer of the first expedition with which I was concerned as a commissioned officer—the march of a Battalion of five companies of the 3rd Cavalry from the valley of the Rio Grande in New Mexico to the valley of the Gila, in Arizona. The order for the transfer of our regiment with the 8th Cavalry, came in February, 1870, the rendezvous appointed for the companies being Fort Cummings, and the date for the movement to commence, March 1st.

At that time, I was attached as 2nd Lieutenant, to company "E" (Captain Alex. Sutorius), our station being Fort Craig. Fort Craig was a four company post (occupied by two companies) surrounded by an earthen rampart, with ditch and five bastions; the other company (one of the 15th Infantry, commanded by Capt. F. W. Coleman, an able and companionable gentleman) and the band and Hd. Qrs. of the 15th Infantry, occupied the adobe houses built during the war and still in fair condition.³ My own Qrs. were the worst in the lot and consisted of a single room, quite large, not less than 20 ft. square, with earth floor and roof, the latter caving in but still held in place by an immense cottonwood stanchion bolstering up the principal "viga" or rafter. The apartment was not palatial in any sense. I had a small iron bedstead, a bottle-green glass mirror, a few pegs upon which to hang uniform and sabre, three pine shelves filled with books, a round pine table, near which, seated in one of my two chairs, I used to study by the flickering light of a brace of candles; a wash-bowl, at first of tin and later on as I grew more opulent, of coarse stoneware, and finally a heavy iron poker serving the double purpose of stirring at the fire and of stirring up "Espiridion," the Mexican boy, who, in the wilder freaks of my imagination, I sometimes looked upon as a "valet."

There wasn't much to do; the post was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the north end of the "Jornada del Muerto" for the protection of travellers against prowling

3. [Sept. 6, 1880] . . . Coleman was a very fine officer and kept the post in good discipline; all except the laundresses who, for some reason or other, gave him a world of bother. They were always quarrelling and Coleman had his hands full in trying to keep the peace. One day two very belligerent dames were brought before his high court of justice and at once began an exchange of abuse and billingsgate, the principal point of which was the culmination: "Din, fur phat and fur phoi, Mrs. O'Dougherty, did you call moi bi, Jamesie, a nayger?"

"Troth, thin, oill hev *you* to understhand, Mrs. O'Shaughnessy, dat *o'm* de saynior laundhrise in dis ridgemint en oi want no wur-ruds wid you."

Apaches. In the morning, reveillé, then stable-call, breakfast, guard-mounting, cavalry drill, reading, lunch, reading and generally an afternoon ride of eight or ten miles, then stable-call again, parade, supper and a little more reading. The whole business was novel to me and for that reason, I did not have time to get weary of it. There was considerable travelling about the country to be done, keeping me busy in moving from post to post.

The villages of Paraje, San Marcial, and Contadera, none of them of any size or consequence, gave us an excuse for horse-back rides; the inhabitants were very poor and the houses, of adobe, ill-furnished, the peculiar feature being that the main room was well-supplied with settees and mattresses upon which the men of the house could take their "siesta" in the afternoon, and the walls were covered with cheap looking glasses, as a decoration. The men wore a costume of wide-brimmed sombrero, coarse white cotton shirt, loose pants or drawers of cotton, & moccasins in place of shoes, (altho' the latter of American manufacture were coming into general use).

The women always were attired in loosely flowing robe of calico or gauze and instead of hats or bonnets which were unknown in that part of the Rio Grande valley, at that time, folded a black shawl or "rebosa," around the head and shoulders in such a way as to completely conceal all the face except the left eye. In figure these were, as a rule, tall, slight, straight and graceful, the erectness of figure and graceful undulation of movement being attributed to their constant practice of carrying heavy loads of water upon the head. In person, they were, so far as my observation extended, neat and clean, bathing frequently in the large "acequias" or irrigating canals which conducted the waters of the Rio Grande to the barley fields and vine-yards. Frequently, in my rides across country, I came upon bevvies of women—old matrons and pretty maidens, splashing in the limpid water, the approach of a stranger being the signal for a general scramble until they were all immersed up to their necks. They never seemed to mind it in the least and I may as well admit that I rather enjoyed these unexpected interviews.

One brief paragraph will answer for all the villages on the Rio Grande; they were built in the form of a hollow square, the interior, or "plaza" being the place of rendezvous for every public purpose, markets, religious proces-

sions, camping places for travellers—everything of that kind. The houses, all of one story and flat roofed, varied in size from one room to a dozen, according to the circumstances of their owners, were built of sun-dried bricks, with roofs, made of small rafters, covered first with a layer of osier twigs, over which was packed a certain depth of “juspe” or lime cement with a mixture of gypsum. This same composition formed the flooring, except in the houses of the very poor who contented themselves with their mother-earth. Where a family was pretentious, a carpet of rough woolen, woven in alternate black and white stripes, called “jerga” was spread out in the “best” rooms, but those in ordinary use went bare.

So far as food was concerned, the New Mexicans were not badly off. Chickens and sheep, pigs and goats were plenty and cheap, beef was not scarce, vegetables grew luxuriantly and fruit of poor quality in considerable quantity. Never have I seen such large onions and beets, the former the diameter of a soup-plate and of a very mild flavor, without acrid pungency. Tomatoes were good, chile excellent, great strings of it drying against the walls and upon the roofs of all the houses; potatoes scarce, but beans, of the black or frijole variety, extremely cheap, and so nutritious as to equal bread in their hunger-staying qualities. Grapes and peaches were the principal fruits and wine in some quantity was made in the valley. The wood used altogether for fuel was mesquite, which exudes a gum equal to that from the acacia; this made so hot a fire that cottonwood had to be added to temper its fierceness. Another curious piece of vegetation was the “amole” or soap-weed, whose roots gave a lather like soap and were much employed as a detergent for the scalp.

The means of transportation to be found in the valley, aside from the “Army wagons” belonging to the various military posts, were little “carretas,” drawn by one or two mules, the poor animals not much bigger than rats; “prairie-schooners”—immense lumbering things requiring the united force of from 20 to 25 mules to pull them and their cargoes; or the old-fashioned wagon from the San Luis valley, made in the rudest fashion, held together by raw-hide thongs, and running on wheels framed of solid sections of large pine trees. Neither the wooden axles, nor the wooden wheels ever had any grease put upon them and, as may be readily imagined, the blood-chilling creaking once

heard was never to be forgotten. These contrivances were at that date much used in the Northern part of New Mexico, but they once in a while made their appearance near Fort Craig and when travelling could be heard for three or four miles.

The Pueblo Indians and many of the Mexicans didn't have carts even, but hauled or packed their "plunder" from point to point on the backs of little donkeys or "burros" which I have seen carrying a load of fire-wood, eight or ten ft. high. Some of these "burros" were not very much larger than the great "jack"-rabbits of the country, but they were very patient and docile, flapping their enormous ears in a philosophical way, as they trudged along the sandy roads.

These preliminary pages are in no sense to be taken as a description of the valley of the Rio Grande, as I found it in 1869 and '70; a more complete account will be found elsewhere in my note-books, the remarks here made being for the purpose of introducing some slight narrative of our march into Arizona, of which I have nowhere preserved an itinerary.

On marching down from Fort Craig, we took the right or west bank of the river, to avoid the "jornada del muerto," ("the day's journey of the dead man") so called because a wanderer could just about reach the end of it before dying of exhaustion and thirst. This desert of ninety miles in length was formerly greatly dreaded, there being no water upon it. Now there are two places, the "tanks" at the Aleman and Jack Martin's artesian well, so situated that marches need not be longer than 30 miles without water. At the north end of the Jornada is the Peak of San Cristóbal, with an upper contour rudely resembling the face of a man asleep.

When we left Fort Craig, Major Coleman very politely drew up his men and band at the gate and gave us a complimentary musical salute as we defiled past them.

Before we reached Fort Cummings, we made camps at Palomitas, a little Mexican hamlet, and at Cow Springs, a fine source of water, both at the foot of the eastern slope of the San Mateo Mtns.

At Cummings we met Major Dubois who assigned me to duty upon his staff as Quartermaster of the Expedition. Dubois was a short, thickset man who gave very strong evidence of having seriously impaired a mind and physique

originally of respectable power. He was fond of good living and prone to over-indulgence in stimulants; of no force of character and disposed to cavil at the actions of his superiors, but kind to his subordinates, gentle in his demeanor and perfectly well bred at all times and under all circumstances. I cannot recall a single instance where he lost control of himself even for a moment or where he failed to accord to a subaltern the complete respect and courtesy so punctiliously exacted for himself. In the routine of camp and garrison life, he was well posted, but not fertile in expedients. He received me with great cordiality, explained to me my duties and the time when we were to start, etc.

To see that everything in the way of transportation was all right, kept me fully occupied all that day and the next; the train didn't number all told more than 31 or 32 six-mule wagons and to an experienced officer would have been a matter of but small concern; with a young officer the case assumed more importance and it really became a great strain upon my mind how to foresee all the requirements of our little battalion. There was food to be stored away for men and officers and grain for the horses; each company loaded its own baggage so I was spared one great annoyance, but to prevent any detention from accidents to wagons or harness or mules, extra poles, jockey-sticks, hounds etc. were provided, "open links" and mule-shoes packed in wagons, a few extra pieces of harness laid by, and in each jockey-box, a can of axle-grease, and other necessities, secured. As our line of march would lie across a desert country scarcely inhabited, we supplied ourselves with a water-wagon holding several thousand gallons, and carried upon the wagons great piles of cord wood.

Everything was at last in order and the word was given to move out the next day, February 28th. That afternoon and night, I had a little leisure to become acquainted with my associates and familiarized with my surroundings. Fort Cummings was a pretty little post, garrisoned by one company of the 15th Infantry, officered by Captain Hedburg⁴ and Lieuts. Fitch and Ryan. They treated us with the greatest cordiality and did everything possible for our comfort. The post itself was neat as a pin and pleasant enough, not too far from civilization to be dreary and possessing a pleasant climate.

4. Capt. Alfred Hedberg.

It was situated alongside of Cooke's Spring, and at the foot of Cooke's Peak, a towering land-mark of great prominence in this region. The Apache had in former years been very troublesome to immigrants, but since the establishment of this garrison, had made their attacks upon trains at points farther west.

A word at this point upon the organization and "personnel" of the Battalion; we had five companies of the 3rd Cavalry, officered as follows:

Major John V. Dubois, 3rd Cavalry, commanding

Assistant Surgeon—Styers, medical officer

2d Lieut. John G. Bourke, (1) A. A. Q. M.

2d Lieut. W. W. Robinson, (2) Adjutant

A. A. Surgeon—Kitchen, (3) ass't medical officer

"B" 3rd Cavalry. Capt. Meinhold and 2d Lieut. Smith

"E" 3rd " Cap't Alex Sutorius

"F" 3rd " 1st Lieut. H. B. Cushing & 2d Lt. Bourke

"K" 3rd " Cap't G. Russell & 1st Lt. L. L. O'Connor

"H" 3rd " Cap't Frank Stanwood & 2d Lt. W. W. Robinson

Of Major Dubois, I have already spoken.

Doctor Styers⁵ was a gentlemanly and skilful medical officer. I did not see much of him during the trip, on account of my duties. He very kindly presented me with a suit of old Spanish armor, consisting of breast and back-plate, helmet and gorget, found near the western extremity of the "Llano Estacado" or "Staked Plain." This armor was simple in style and construction and no doubt once covered the body of a Spanish or Mexican foot-soldier, who must have lost his life while on some expedition of discovery or war, years and years ago.

The helmet was a plain, round casque, with hole in top from which a plume perhaps descended; this helmet was provided with a fixed visor of sheet iron and a gorget or neck-piece of hammered iron scales upon a backing of linen. Back and breast-plate require no detailed description; they were merely concave plates of sheet-iron, shaped to fit the body and when in condition for service must have been held in position by buckles at the sides. The breast plate was ornamented around the edges by a line of brass buttons. I

5. Charles Styer. Heitman, *Historical Register*, I, 935.

carried this old armor with me to Arizona, where the breast and back-plates were stolen. The casque and gorgets I afterwards gave to the wife of Judge Savage of Omaha, by whom it has been preserved with great care.⁶ The age of this armor I never could learn; it was of the style used by the infantry in the 17th and 18th century, but may have been of any period prior to our occupation of Texas and New Mexico. Its preservation from rust is attributable to the extremely dry climate of the staked plains, where rain falls so seldom.

Lieutenant W. W. Robinson, a classmate of mine at the Mil'y Academy, was, and is, a high-toned, soldierly officer, gentlemanly in all his dealings and much liked by his associates. (He has since been transferred to the 7th Cavalry.)

Doctor Kitchen only remained with us for a few days, when he was relieved and returned to Santa Fé.

Captain Meinhold was an elderly man, of fine physique and great personal attractiveness. (He has since died.)

Lieutenant Smith, the subaltern of his company, sometime afterwards became greatly distinguished under Lieut. Cushing in a fight with hostile Apaches, in which 46 of the enemy were killed. (I visited the battlefield myself and saw the bodies). In 1871 he resigned from the service.

Lieut. H. B. Cushing was a reckless man, one of the most daring and most completely regardless of consequences I have ever met. He was one of the most gallant Indian

6. In this connection, the following later entry is of interest: April 16 [1880]. Dined with my friends, Judge and Mrs. Savage and Mr. Will Morris (their son). In the evening, listening to the Judge's lecture before the Nebraska Historical Society, upon the "Discovery of Nebraska"—an erudite, finely worded and finely delivered discourse which alluded in terms of panegyric to the labors of the French and Spanish Catholic missionaries of early days.

According to the Judge, the Platte country was first "settled" by the French who under Laclède, in 1764, laid the foundation of the present noble city of Saint Louis; but it was explored and described by French and Spanish missionaries far earlier than the date just given.

Marquette, the gentle, noble and heroic Jesuit, the explorer and discoverer of so much of the vast region lying along the Upper Mississippi and between it and the Missouri, was in this vicinity about 1640, and made a topographical chart, (now in Montreal,) in which the position and course of the Upper Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, and Platte rivers are delineated with surprising accuracy. Of Coronado's discovery in 1541-2, the printed verbatim account from the *Omaha Republican*, of April 17th, will give the best idea; the Spanish armor referred to is a suit found by some men of my old company, "F", 3rd Cavalry, in the region near the Pecos river in 1869, and by them given to Ass't. Surgeon Steyer who presented it to me and I, in turn, to Judge Savage's wife. (the newspaper clipping follows.)

fighters in the regular army and had made the Apaches of New Mexico and the Staked Plain feel his power. Moving out from Fort Stanton as a base, he had almost wiped out "Cadette" and "Jesús La Paz" on one or two occasions, killing numbers of the enemy, capturing nearly all of their stock, besides retaking all that they had run off from ranchmen and cattle-raisers. In one of these engagements, his 2d Lieut. Frank Seaton, my classmate, was shot through the wrist and body and soon after died. As I couldn't get along with Captain Sutorius, the Regimental Commander transferred me to Cushing's company, which I joined at Fort Cummings.

Cushing was of a slight figure, small but well built, nervo-sanguine temperament, eyes blue-gray and piercing, hair light-brown, complexion florid. His bravery was beyond question, his judgment, as I had good reason afterwards to learn, was not always to be trusted. He would hazard everything on the turn of the card. Cushing occasionally drank rather more than was good for him, yet I cannot say that I ever saw him lose his self-control. He was a great gamester too, but with all his faults, an energetic, ambitious, and daring soldier, one who never turned his back upon an enemy. (He was killed by Cocheis' band of Apache Indians near the Ojo del Oso or Bear Springs, in the Mesteñes or Whetstone Mountains, S. E. Arizona, May 5, 1871.)

Cushing belonged to a family which had made a fine record during the Civil War. One brother, Milton B., was a Paymaster in the Navy. A second "Albemarle" Cushing, won his curious agnomen in his desperate attack upon the rebel ram "Albemarle" which he blew up with a torpedo, recklessly risking his own life in the attempt which met with a brilliant success. A third brother, Alonzo, had but recently graduated from West Point, when he was assigned to the command of his Battery and took part in the momentous struggle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He was shot through both hips and his men were carrying him off the field, when the gallant youngster reflecting that his Battery was holding an important place in the line and that his absence would leave it without a commissioned officer, declined to be moved and insisted upon keeping in command, sitting upon a "stretcher," resting against a pile of knapsacks. He received another wound (slight) in one hand and before the battle ended, was shot through the brain and

died upon the field. His remains were afterwards interred in the Cemetery at West Point, New York.

When I first joined the company ("F"), it had in its possession not far from 60 to 70 Indian ponies and horses captured from the Apaches and two or three cows and one young bull, all of good mixed Durham blood which had been presented for the use of the enlisted men by the cattle owners in New Mexico, whose herds had been recovered by this indefatigable little body of troops.

Of Captain Sutorius I can't say much: he was a negative, no-account man, a native of Switzerland, ignorant, opinionated and considerably given to drink. Very many vacancies existed in the regular army at the outbreak of the rebellion, caused by the resignation of disaffected officers who abandoned their colors to adhere to the fortune of the seceding states. To fill these vacancies, almost any old soldier was commissioned without regard to merit, capacity or record. Sutorius was one of those others advanced. He had been a bugler and, of his own choice, had acted as waiter for the officers' mess at the post where he was stationed. He never rose with his good fortune, but remained always an ignorant thick-headed "waiter." (Dismissed from the service for drunkenness by sentence of General Court Martial, September, 1876.)

Of a very different type was Captain Gerald Russell; he too, was a "promotion from the ranks," only in his case, advancement was the recognition of true merit and gallant service and not the coquettish favor of blind Fortune. Russell was born somewhere in the mountains of Kerry, Ireland, and had never lost the sweet, lisping brogue of his native wilds. The son of poor parents, his early advantages had been almost imperceptible and fate apparently had destined him for the position of cobbler in his native village. A fit of disgust, ambition or something else, induced him to immigrate to the United States where he had scarcely landed before he enlisted in the regiment of "mounted rifles," now known as the 3rd Cavalry. Before the war, as a non-commissioned officer, he had attracted the attention of his superiors by his great gallantry and general good qualities. Receiving promotion with almost the firing of the first gun upon Sumter, he applied himself assiduously to his new duties and became a hard student. By one of those strange freaks of character which so frequently lead the best men astray, Russell, who so humbly admitted his ig-

norance, was not too proud to study faithfully, but he disdained any application to the rudimentary branches of knowledge and confined himself to advanced topics in science and history.

The harvest produced was a curious and laughter-provoking jumble of philosophical and scientific theories, quaintly expressed in high-sounding phraseology, pronounced in a brogue rich as cream, and a substratum of shrewd common-sense acquired in his long military experience on the plains which contrasted oddly with an almost child-like ignorance of the ways of the world.

When I first met him, Russell was already a sufferer from "hemiplegia," or paralysis of the left side, which gave to his gait and movement the funniest sort of a limp, accompanied by a simultaneous, spasmodic jerk of the left wrist and fingers. This paralysis, his friends told me, had been occasioned in the following manner: while the 3rd cavalry was at Little Rock, Ark., assembling preparatory to its march out to New Mexico, a remount of fine horses was received from Kentucky. These were soon distributed among the companies, but there remained one fine looking fiery animal which refused to acknowledge any control; men and officers alike were afraid to go near him, as fast as some bold rider jumped on his back, just so fast was there a demoralized cavalryman describing a fearfully eccentric curve through the air.

The general verdict was against the horse; every one said what a fine creature, everyone admitted it was a pity he couldn't be retained in the regiment, but at the same time conceded that it would be imprudent to keep such a fractious charge who might at almost any hour be the means of inflicting irreparable injury upon the trooper in charge of him.

Capt. Russell patiently and quietly listened to these remarks, in which as a good cavalryman he felt he could not concur; to him it seemed a disgrace that a regiment of cavalry should reject a finely formed steed for no other reason than that he was a trifle too high-strung. Sooner than see him sent back to "depot," "Jerry" would ride him himself, and ride him right then and there. In obedience to his instructions, the horse was blind-folded and firmly bound until Russell should be properly braced in the stirrups. This was soon done, the rider was seated like a centaur upon the horse's back, and at a given signal, the band-

ages covering eyes and lines were removed and for a moment the horse stood perfectly quiet. Then he lazily turned his head and gazed in a dreamy, abstracted sort of manner at the insignificant creature, who had had the audacity to bestride him! Captain Russell mistook this behavior for docility and submission and pressed the horse's flanks with his limbs. Away dashed the horse, flying down the street like a winged Pegasus, Russell sticking to him as if he were glued to the saddle; for a few seconds, it was an open question which should gain the victory, man or beast; but the horse solved the problem by jumping with full force into a newly-excavated cellar where he landed himself and rider in a shockingly mangled condition. Russell was dug out with a broken leg, and broken, mashed or bruised ribs, arm and collar-bone, and placed upon a shutter to be carried off to the hospital. Just before fainting away with the intense pain, he raised his head slightly and with a smile of triumph and defiance remarked to those about him: "oi knew dam-m well-l oi cud roide um-m!"

Captain Russell's pet grievance—the one subject upon which he was wont to expatiate upon the slightest provocation—was the decadence and degeneracy of the Regular Army. "Its moi proivate opinyun, Borruk," (he would say to me) "its moi private opinyun, based upon exparyinze, for oi've bin now nointeen yee-ers in the U-noi-ted States Army, that de whole dam mil-lee-tery outfit is goin' to Hell." His lamentations generally were pointed by a reference to the constitutional worthlessness of his 1st Lieutenant, Lawrence Lu-shus O'Connor, a handsome, round-voiced, round-limbed "broth of a bi" from the "ould dart." Public opinion was decidedly adverse to O'Connor and credited him with being a coward; this I was never thoroughly satisfied could be the case. O'Connor was certainly worthless and being lazy and lethargic, several times failed to follow fresh Indian trails with proper energy; still, if brought face to face with an enemy, it is likely that he would have stood his ground and fought. He and his wife were great thorns in old "Jerry's" side. Mrs. O'C. was a bright woman, well-educated and able to write a good letter, but with a very creamy brogue. Her shrewdness and tact saved her husband from many a pit-fall, and enabled him to defy the inquisitions of Courts-Martial, but we lost them both by the operations of the Benzine Board, in Dec. 1870.

In October 1869, O'Connor and his better half were on

their return from District Hd. Qrs. at Santa Fé, where they had been in attendance upon O'Connor's periodical trial for drunkenness or some offense of that kind, which came around regularly once a quarter. Near Albuquerque they came to "La Bajada," (the Descent") a very severe grade, having an overhanging vertical wall of some hundred of feet on one side and a sheer precipice of five hundred on the other. The descent was so risky that stage-passengers always alighted and made their way down on foot, while the driver found abundant occupation in taking care of his train and slowly creeping down with a "heavy brake on," wheels "locked and shod" and the conductor at the head of the leaders. That was the only orthodox way of going down "La Bajada" in those days, but O'Connor had different ideas. He left Santa Fé close behind the conveyance which carried U. S. Marshall Pratt and his party. When Pratt reached La Bajada, of course he got out and walked down, letting his driver have as light a load as possible. He hadn't perceived O'Connor so close behind him and in fact, up to that day had never had any personal acquaintance with him. What was his astonishment to hear behind him (when he had almost reached the bottom) a fine round Irish voice exclaim, "Oh! She'll git down all roight, I dun'no," and to find himself, upon turning, face to face with O'Connor. "Shure! she'll git down all roight, I dun'no!" repeated O'Connor, and Pratt, looking up the break-neck grade, saw what had elicited this expression of confidence. O'Connor and his driver had both left their ambulance and descended on foot, while Mrs. O'C. was left to manage, as best she might, the four half-bred mules which pulled it. There was no "brake," no "lock," no "shoe," and the mules, sawing on the feeble bits which held them, appeared ready to dash at any moment down the hill. Pratt, in fear and disgust, cried out, "Why! My God Almighty! Man! I wouldn't drive down 'La Bajada' myself!"

"No," replied O'Connor, "nur oi." However, Mrs. O'Connor got down without injury and to cement acquaintance, O'Connor presented Pratt and his party to his wife and invited them all to take a drink, glibly running over the names of the most expensive wines as if they were the ordinary features of his wine-list. "Come now, gentilmin, Come now, nom-i-nate yer pi-sins— Sherry, Hock or Tó-kay?" Pratt thought he'd take a thimbleful of Sherry, and another gentleman inclined to Hock, and a third concluded

that Tó-kay was good enough for the likes of him. "But Larins-Lushus, Darlint!" dextrously interposed Mrs. O'Connor, don't yiz know that the Sherry, the Hock and Tó-kay is all gone—intirely? But we have some rale good fhiskey in the black bottle." "Well," said O'Connor, "damn their furrin ingray-jints anyhow—shure fish-key's the dhrink fur a gintilmin all-ways"; so the whole party turned themselves loose on the black bottle.

I had a very funny experience with Russell at Fort Selden on the Rio Grande in the fall of 1869. I had marched a detachment of recruits down the river and at Selden had to turn over those assigned to Stamwood's and Russell's Companies.

Stamwood, who was commanding the post, directed his first sergeant to receive the recruits and see that they had all the equipments for which he should have to receipt; but Jerry Russell didn't do business in any such style; he would receive his recruits in person.

I drew them up in two ranks, open order, called the roll, and inspected, finding all right. Captain Russell, I thought, would order the detail to be marched to his Company quarters, but he first made them a little speech, which I insert as nearly word for word as I can remember, altho' I have told the story so often that I am pretty confident the "oration" is almost exact: "Young Min! I conghratulate yiz on bein assigned to moi thrupe, becos praviouly to dis toime, I vinture to say that moi thrupe had had more villins, loyars, teeves, scoundhrils and, I moight say, dam murdhrers than enny udder thrupe in de United States Army. I want yiz to pay sthricht attintion to jooty—and not become dhrunken vagabonds, wandhrin all over the face of Gods Chreashun, spindin ivry cint ov yur pay with low bum-mers. Avoide all timptashuns, loikewise all discipashuns, so that in toime yez kin become non-commissioned offizurs; yez'll foind yer captin a very laynent man and very much given to laynency, fur oi niver duz toi no man up bee der tumbs unless he duz bee late for a roll-call. Sorjint, dismiss de detachmint."

Russell was at that time a bachelor and was very fond of remarking confidentially to the younger officers that he was "tinking boime-by of going back to de States and seein' wat dame Forchin'll do fur me in de way of a dam noice woife."

His company never would come up to his views of discipline. "I decleer to God'l'moity! (he would say), "the base ingratoichude of dem *wearies* of moine is perficly 'stonishn! Dey hev everyt'ing dat mortil man kin want, clodin, food, few-el, good grub, vidgitibbles and good quarters, and here to-day they hev just smashed a bran new skillit over my nice first Sarjint's head'n all becoz dey didn't hev enough toe-ma-tusses in dere God-dam supe!"

O'Connor had been sent out from Selden to follow up a fresh Indian trail which gave promise of resulting in an active skirmish. Russell had given him the picked men of the Company, mounted on the best horses and well provided in every way with rations for seventeen days. The trail led straight towards the San Agostino pass in the Organ Mtns, in which range a band of Apaches had been known to lurk for some time.

O'Connor had as fine an opportunity as soul could wish for glory; but he wasn't hunting for glory. Quietly leaving the trail he struck into the towns of Mesilla and Las Cruces, 30 miles below Fort Selden on the river, where he intended to lie "perdu" until his rations were eaten up. He ignored the fact that a new paper had lately been established in one of these towns, the "Las Cruces Borderer," which would be glad to have him figure as an "item." In due course of time, the "Borderer" was delivered by mail at Fort Selden and the effect it produced on Cap't. Russell was very mirth-provoking. After recapitulating to me all that he had done to give "dat dam outfit, O'Conn-nur-r" a chance to attain distinction and dwelling bitterly upon his sneaking into "Crú-cis," Russell continued, and "din he wint to a 'Boyle at Bull's,'" where (quoting from the paper in his hand and hissing the words as he read) "Lootinint Law-rins Loo-shus O'Con-nurr of the tur-r-d Cavalry appeared to de bist advantij."

I have alluded to Russell's "scientific" acquirements; I may here interpolate an anecdote under this head, stating however that the date was long since the year of which I am now writing. It was in the last week of December, 1876. Russell and I were serving together with General Crook's Expedition against the hostile Sioux and Cheyennes in Wyoming and had both started out with the cavalry column under General Mackenzie and taken part in the attack upon Dull Knife's village in the cañon of the Big Horn Mountains. After completely destroying the village

of 200 lodges and scattering the Cheyennes, we started back to rejoin the main command under General Crook, with whom we marched up and down the Belle Fourche, looking for other Indians. Coming back over the Pumpkin Buttes, Christmas morning, 1875, the weather was something not soon to be forgotten; the mercury was frozen in the bulb and a howling wind froze everything solid. The leafless trees standing guard over the solidly frozen streamlets, the frozen tufts of grass and weeds glistening under the weight of ice crystals, & the forbidding, leaden sky would have been enough, without the marrow-chilling tempest, to remind us that winter was King in those desolate regions; but with the aid of the icy storm, our surroundings discouraged us greatly. Our eyebrows, eye-lashes, and moustaches were congealed and had it not been for the Esquimaux-like clothing of fur and buck-skin which we all wore, I am certain that numbers of us would have laid down, never to rise again alive.

My companions were taciturn and solemn, but old "Jerry" Russell became rather voluble in his disquisitions upon "soy-inces." Doctor Wood broke out with the exclamation: "well!" of all the beastly weather that God ever made!—this beats all I ever knew." "Docthur!" interposed old Jerry, very quietly, "our ansisthurs was better prephared for such wedther than oursilves." "How was that?" queried the young sawbones. "Well, sor, dey hed hair on 'im haf a fut long." "Oh, I don't believe any such stuff as that, Captain," remonstrated the Doctor. "Oh, yiz, indade, Docthur," persisted Russell, "all histhry and soyinces and thrue pheelosophy goes to show that our ansisthurs hed very shart tails and hed hair an'm haf a fut long; and funder, Docthur Wud, tis moi provit opin-yun det your grand-fadder or your great grand-fadder, enny way, must have ben in a mu-zee-um."

Wood was too nearly frozen to get angry, but he abruptly terminated his "scientific" discussion with old Russell.

I will leave Russell for the present to make some slight reference to other members of our Battalion, being able to do this as I shall have occasion further on to tell a few stories of my old friend who, albeit [with] certain eccentricities of character, and solecisms in language, was a brave old soldier, tender-hearted as a woman, and proud of his profession.

Captain Frank Stanwood was, physically, a man far above the average; of good education and intellectual powers, he was amiable in manners and of a very witty mind and good humored disposition. His library, which he very kindly permitted me to examine on several occasions, was large and well-selected, considering the embarrassments to be encountered in those days by Cavalry officers on the frontier who had the slightest taste for reading. Stanwood was, without intending any harm, sometimes inclined to be a trifle irreverent in religious matters. I remember a visit he paid me at my qrs. in Tucson, Arizona, in December, 1870, when I also had as my guest old Colonel "Bobbie" Pollock, Captain of the 21st Inf'y. "Bobby," a native of the Quaker City, had quitted home so young and had wandered about the world so much (he had been in California with the first influx in 1849) that he remembered but little of his eastern training, excepting an hereditary prejudice against Yankees. Stanwood was a Boston boy and, as such, old Bobbie had a prejudice against him, even in face of his long acquaintance with him and knowledge of his high tone of character and accomplishments.

Stanwood understood all this and loved to do everything to excite the old man's antagonism. We had all to sleep in one bed-room—the only habitable room in the house, and when it came time to go to bed, Pollock and I were talking; Stanwood interrupted by asking for silence as he was going to "say his prayers." Then clasping his hands, he devoutly and audibly thanked "God that we have been born in *Boston*, because thou knowest, O! Lord! that having been born in *Boston*, it is not necessary that we should be born again." Old Bobbie swallowed the whole thing as a genuine prayer, and the next morning when we were alone together commented savagely upon the — conceit of "them ere—— Boston Yankees——," making the air blue with profanity. (Stanwood died at his home in Boston, Dec. 20th, '72.)

The night before we left Fort Cummings, the officers stationed there came down to our camp to pay a last visit. The officers of the Battalion were invited to meet them in Colonel Dubois' tent.

A nice little lunch was spread in an adjoining tent, to which any one could repair at pleasure. There was much pleasant converse, story-telling, a little singing and a great deal of drinking. Lieut. Robinson and I being the junior

"subs" and also the "staff" of the Battalion, were selected to make the "toddlies." Neither of us had been trained as a bartender and of course some little preliminary instruction was necessary to enable us to prepare "toddlies" that would pass the inspection of gentlemen of such extended experience in that line as those whom we were serving. We made up in assiduity what we lacked in education; our first effort was pronounced a dead failure; our second was only a shade better. Our third extorted signs of approval. They came rather slowly or reluctantly from the lips of Captain Russell; "I declare to God'l mighty, Mister Robinson, dat's a mighty fine tod-dee; oi tink it wud be a good oidee to put a little more sugar in soak."

We complied with this suggestion and kept a few lumps of sugar soaking to make fresh tumblers of toddy as fast as those in use should be emptied. The effects manifested themselves after awhile; the party became decidedly merry. Towards midnight the visitors withdrew, with many warm shakes of the hand and cordial expressions of goodwill for our good fortune on the journey. Weary and sleepy, I started to seek my couch; but I found that a second lieutenant's duty didn't cease with the departure of guests; in fact it only commenced. The plain English of the matter is that we had to act as valets for such of our elderly companions as had eaten too many ham-sandwiches, pickled oysters or articles of that kind on the bill of fare which, since the beginning of the world, have made giddy and light-headed gentlemen who have not, oh! no! by no means! been in the smallest degree affected by a dozen or more tumblers of strong punch. Stanwood had gone to bed, "straight as a string"; Dubois had crawled off, unaided, and without anything remarkable in his gait or demeanor except the persistency with which the guy ropes of the tents wound themselves around his little, fat, chubby legs. He bade us good-night and blessed us all with a fervor that brought tears to our eyes and his own.

Meinhold and Russell were sad wrecks, jolly and maudlin, limp and incapable of moving hand or foot; their eyes stuck out from their heads as void of expression as grapes with the skins off. A Temperance lecturer would pronounce them both "drunk"; in the language of the frontier, "they had it up their snoots," and were rather inclined to be "high." Not to beat about the bush too much, they were Drunk. Lawrence Lucius O'Connor was drunk too, but he

didn't count, he always was drunk. We never took any notice of O'Connor except when he was sober. Cushing and Smith were able to help Robinson and myself quite a good deal; we grabbed Meinhold by the waist-band and he doubled together like a jack-knife or an old carpet-sack, to use the expression of an old officer, but he offered no resistance as we laid him upon his bed and stripped off boots, collar and coat and covered him up with a pair of blankets.

"Jerry" Russell was less tractable; we found him as we got back to the tent, seated in a camp-chair; scarcely able to move a joint but trying very hard to whistle to his dog "To-per." "To-per," more in sorrow than in anger, flapped his tail in response to these manifestations of affection, as "old Jerry" spoke to him; "To-pur" yee dam baste! yer dhrunk, Topur, yer dhrunk, Topur, en oi know it." This bright little dialogue (or monologue rather, because I don't remember that poor To-per spoke even so much as a bark) was varied by Russell's every now and then sinking back in his chair, twiddling his thumbs and trying to sing the refrain of his favorite song—"Too-ril, loo-ril, wan-oyed Roil-lee!" "Too-ril, loo-ril, wan-oyed Roil-l-lee."

Robinson tapped him briskly on the shoulder: "Come, come, Captain, it's time to go to bed." Russell was very obstinate: "No, no, Misther Robinson, no bid for mee dis noight." "But Captain," I expostulated, "you must go to bed; it's long after midnight, we are to have reveille at 5, everybody's in bed. We've just put Captain Meinhold to bed." This was a lucky remark to make; Russell and Meinhold, altho' firm friends, had between them that curious rivalry which has so often been remarked as existing between Teuton and Celt.

Russell would have staid up all night sooner than have it said that he had been driven from the field before Meinhold; but the yielding of his adversary, rendered him more amenable to reason. "Is dat dam outfit of Meinhold's gan to bid, Bor-ruk?" he inquired. "Why yes, Captain, we had to *put him to bed*. Don't you hear him snoring?" Somebody *was* snoring and whoever it was wasn't *playing* at snoring, either, but doing his level best and getting along at a lively rate with no brake on. I thought, under the circumstances, it would do no harm to give the credit for the whole performance to poor old Meinhold, especially as the sound had such a favorable effect upon Russell. He chuckled to himself and asked in a vague, drunken manner: "Is dat

damned outfit av a Meinhold gan to bid? Din oi kin *retoire* wid *hon-ur-r-r*," and as he said this, he struck his breast dramatically as if he had repeated "The old guard dies but never surrenders." We took advantage of his mollified condition of mind and soon had the representative of old Erin's Green Isle snoring in a most frantic rivalry with his comrade from the "Vaterland."

My description of my comrades is accurate. Nothing has been set down in malice. To those personally unacquainted with these gentlemen of whom I have been writing, the eccentricities and oddities of character may perhaps be taken as the whole perimeter or at least the salient lines and angles; but such a judgment would be a gross injustice to them and to me; they were rather the incongruous and ridiculous elements which are discernible in human nature everywhere and in no situation more so than on the remote frontier where people through a sense of isolation, seek a more intimate companionship with those who are thrown into their society and probably for the very same reason, feeling that there is no one to criticize, except close friends and intimate associates, are more careless about hiding little foibles and peculiarities from observation.

I wish I could remember as vividly and in proper sequence the general features of the topography of the line of march. My memory is constituted in such a way that I retain for a long time the impressions made upon me by individuals, but in a sense of locality I am lacking in details but always capable of describing the character of a district with an approach to correctness, even if my account of the lesser meanderings of roads and streams be somewhat at fault. From Fort Cummings, New Mexico, to Fort Bowie, Arizona, and from the latter post to Camp Grant (since abandoned) by way of Tucson, the country differs but slightly in its main features and but little more in its vegetation and animal life.

It is a vast alternation of plain and mountain, the ridges running from north to south and bearing the names of Cook's Peak, Mimbres Mountains, Stein's Peak, Chiricahua, Dragoon and Santa Catarina. None of these is much over 9,500 or 10,000 ft. in height, but in ruggedness they present as many obstacles to passage, except by the regular gaps, as if they were half as much higher. Pine and scrub oak, with some juniper and considerable "manzanita" grow upon the elevations or in the cañons; the plains, styled in the

Spanish language "playas" or "beaches," bear a thick covering of blue and white "grama" grass, with the innutritious stocky grass called "sacaton," soap-weed, cactus in the varieties of ocatillo, nopal, saguara and tuña; sage-brush and grease-wood, with "palo verde" as you enter Arizona. In S. W. New Mexico, "Prairie-dogs" were not unusual. In Arizona, they are scarcely ever seen and only along the eastern border. The Giant Cactus ("saguara" or "pitahaya") presents itself to view upon nearing Fort Bowie, and stands boldly against the horizon like a sentinel upon a rampart. Its usual height is not above 30 ft., but it is occasionally to be found nearer sixty. In no part of the United States does the "Mescal" or Century plant grow in the same luxuriant profusion as in Arizona. Its gorgeous velvety blossoms color the sides of the hills at all seasons and its roasted stalks and core, form the staple food of the Apache Indians. The "Mescal," Saguara, Tuña, and Mesquite, all contribute, in one way or another, to the dietary of the aborigines, and the Saguara, Tuña and Mesquite are used in building. The Mexicans tap the "saguara" for its juice, which is boiled with pulverized sugar to make a palatable candy; the topmost branches bear in the month of June a fruit, in taste similar to our raspberry, greatly sought after by the wild Indians and preserved as a marmalade by the Mexicans. The umbrella-like ribs of the decayed saguara are spread upon the rafters of houses to serve as the base of the earth or gypsum roof. Of the mescal, a highly intoxicating liquor is distilled, which has the taste and produces the effects of Scotch Whiskey; this and "tiswin," a mild barley beer, flavored with cinnamon, are the staple intoxicants of Northern Mexico.

The juice of the "nopal" or tuña has a clarifying power, of which I have spoken at other times: the sliced leaves or "plates," immersed in muddy water will speedily cause a subsidence of any argillaceous matter held in suspension; its virtues as an anti-scorbutic have long been recognized by army officers of experience on the plains; stripped of its thorns it will sustain the lives of cattle in bad winters when hay and grass are not within reach and if the juice be mixed with sand and clay and a small addition of bullock's blood, it may be poured out in frames which hardening will make durable pavements for the interior of houses.

The beans of the two varieties of mesquite growing in Arizona are greatly prized by the Indians as food and are

much relished by horses; the fruit of the "manzanita" and the acorns of scrub-oak, with the seeds of sun-flowers, wild gourds and various species of grass complete the diet-list of vegetables in general use among the aboriginal tribes of that region.

Our line of travel lay nearly due west to Tucson, taking us through: 1st the town of "Miembres" ("Osiers") a little plaza, built of stone, on the clear mountain stream of same name which rises in the San Mateo Mountains and flows nearly due south to Laguna Guzman in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. 2d. Hot Springs. Our battalion kept slightly to the left of these wonderful thermal springs, which contain silica in solution and deposit a coating of it upon every twig or branch immersed in their waters.

3rd. Soldier's Farewell, the last station in New Mexico.

4th. Steen's Peak. A tolerably high range with a good deal of pine towards the crest and in the ravines.

5th. Fort (then Camp) Bowie, the first point in Arizona, a military station of two Cos. in the "Apache Pass" of the Chiricahua Mtns. The Apache Indians were then making this part of America a perfect Hell upon earth. No small party could travel from station to station in S. E. Arizona, unless by night and with each man's hand constantly on his arms. Such settlers as braved the danger, ploughed their fields with rifles slung across their backs or strapped to the plough-handle. In my journals and scrap-books of Arizona, a very complete account of this tribe and of General Crook's campaign, which resulted in their complete subjection, can be found.

On our march over to Bowie, Captain Russell and I became stanch friends; the old man frequently in conversation gave me the benefit of his philosophical views, frequently calling attention to the mutual affection exhibited by his horse "Charlie" and mare, "Katie"; "I decleer to Gol'l'moi-tee, Bor-ruk, the amount of afficshun existing betwane dim two dumb animals, 'Chollie' and 'Kettee' is perficly 'ston-ish'n.'" One morning, our old friend made his appearance at reveillé with his lower lip swollen out of all shape from the bite of a venomous spider or wasp. All that we could get him to say on the subject was that "some dam-m-m baste of a bug stung it."

We regretfully parted with Captain Russell at Fort Bowie, of which garrison his company was ordered to form part. Captain Stanwood also separated from the Battalion

at same point, enroute for Camp Goodwin, on the Gila river, opposite the mouth of the San Carlos.

The Post Commander of Fort Bowie was Captain Thomas Dunn, 21st Infy, a very good-hearted gentleman, but very odd in his behavior and a subject of considerable amusement to me in our after acquaintance.

From Bowie to Tucson is 110 miles due west. Twenty-eight miles out, at Dragoon Springs, we met the Battalion of the 8th Cavalry, marching over to New Mexico to take our places.

At San Pedro station on San Pedro river, 55 miles from Bowie, we saw the first Arizona "station"; a good enough house of adobe, with a "corral" of the same material. Like nearly all the "stations" of that day, it was kept in a most barbarous style. A story current in Arizona at that date, and popularly believed to be true, places the scene of the following experience at "Duncan's" ("San Pedro") ranch. The stage, as the "buck-board" was jocularly called, deposited its load of passengers one evening for supper. One of these passengers was an Englishman, sent out from London to look into some mining property in Arizona. In dress and manner and speech, he was the typical "Bow Bells," Cockney, baggy plaid trousers, cloth gaiters, short sack-coat, little hat with a blue veil, umbrella and goggles,—the Henglish tourist's idea of a suitable costume for travelling in the wilds of America.

As he dismounted, he observed at the side of the main door, a small cottonwood three legged stool supporting a tin basin and a lump of rosin soap, while from a peg in the adobe wall, hung a ragged, "slazy," dirty strip of huck-a-back, facetiously intended for a towel. There was no help for it; the Englishman felt he was a trifle dirtier than the towel;—that was one consolation. He splashed the basin full of water about his neck and head and into his ears and eyes, ridding himself of a fearful accumulation of sand and alkali dust and by closing his eyes tight, managed to get through with the towel without becoming sick. The poor fellow thought at the time that that was the dirtiest towel he had ever seen; before he had been in Arizona a week, he learned to look back upon it as one of the daintiest pieces of linen that ever lady's fair hand had embroidered.

Inside the ranch was the "bar"; mud floor, rough counter, three pine shelves for bottles, tumblers and other paraphernalia, walls of adobe with a small looking glass and

three or four advertisements of liquor firms doing business in San Francisco, and two or three stools, the companions in misfortune of the one in front of the house.

The sleepy bar-tender was in soiled shirt and with hair in ill-kept condition, because he had been too busy or too sleepy for the past three months to give it any attention; but he hadn't been too busy or too sleepy to put on his "six-shooters," which, like everybody else about the ranch, he wore constantly.

The supper was in strict keeping with the rest of the establishment; a bare pine table, china plates, tin cups, and knives and forks in various stages of decrepitude. There was tea, made from the native grasses of the territory, biscuits, with an extravagant excess of soda, bacon, putrid and sour, sugar that would have delighted the soul of an entomologist, it was so full of ants and bugs and flies; stewed dried apples, each separate slice standing out sodden and distinct from its fellows, and the whole dish having a painfully strong suggestion of Do-the-boys Hall; and as the crowning piece of the meal—sausage, in two ways—in globules and in casing. Mr. Duncan, the proprietor, had recently killed a pig and, in the exuberance of his good nature, was "going to set 'em up for the boys." The Englishman wasn't making much of a meal, to speak of; he sipped the tea mechanically and pushed the cup away from him in ill-concealed disgust; the bacon, he didn't pretend to even look at, but he thought he could find a small share of work for his teeth in trying to masticate the lumpy dried apples and soda biscuits. To do this, however, it was necessary to swallow a few flies; the first two or three made him sick. He became indignant; the meal was a transparent swindle, a glaring outrage, a trap for extorting a dollar from the unwary and unprotected. He had about made up his mind to forward an account of the affair to the British Minister at Washington, when the "garçon!" of the establishment leaned over his shoulder and hissed in his ear the question—"Gut sassige ur ball?" The Englishman didn't like the looks of the waiter in the least; he was, as it were, the antipodes of anything to be seen in "Pell-Mell," or in any fashionable restaurant on the "Stwand."

He was hirsute, red-eyed, sunburned, coatless and shoeless; his rolled up sleeves and revolver on hip imparted a "Dick Dead-Eye" tone to his make-up, which might have

had a good effect on the stage, but in real life was the reverse of pleasant.

He was a prospector, "down on his luck," who had taken to "slinging hash" as a temporary buttress against the assaults of famine. Once more he whispered—"Gut sassage or ball?" The Englishman asked for an explanation of the cabalistic formula. The reply was that "ball" sausage was the plain sausage meat in globular masses; but "gut" sausage was the same article in a bladder cuticle. The Englishman, desiring to avoid dirt as much as possible, intimated his preference for "ball": thereupon the waiter roared through the aperture in the wall between dining-room and kitchen; "ball sassage for one." The cook, an individual as hirsute, as dirty and as fully armed as the waiter, called back in an irritated tone "— your — soul to —, didn't I tell you the ball's all gone," and immediately the waiter returning to the Englishman, howled in his ear; "— it, the ball's all gone; take gut, you — take gut."

The Englishman wrote back to London that the mine he had been sent to examine was no doubt rich in ore, but that the great lack of wood and water and the great abundance of Apache Indians in Arizona were very discouraging obstacles to its development and for those reasons only he felt compelled to decline the superintendency.

Three miles down the San Pedro, north of the station, was the hamlet of "Tres Alamos" to which we had to send for barley for our command. From this station to the "Cienaga" (swamp) is 25 miles, south of which 20 or 25 m. is the Ojo del Oso where poor Cushing afterwards (May 5, 1871) was killed in a fight with Apaches. To Tucson, the then capital of Arizona, is 25 miles more. I shall not make any prolonged reference to our march, the beautiful sunsets and sun-rises excelling those for which Italy is famed, the mirages, or the mournful aspect of the odd vegetation upon the "mesas" we crossed. I shall pay due attention to all that portion of my service in the note-books which I purpose filling from the great quantity of material on hand, in the form of letters sent home, rough notes, itineraries and maps made while scouting in that part of Arizona. We remained in the quaint old Mexican Presidio of Tucson for two days and then resumed our march for (old) Camp Grant, 55 miles to the North, keeping on the western skirts of the Santa Catarina Mtns., the whole way and camping one night at the picturesque "Cañada del oso."

Camp Grant, (since abandoned) with its "personnel" including Col. Dunkelberger, scenery, climate, fauna and flora, and topics of service there, deserves and shall receive at my hands at some future date a more fitting recognition than a few brief paragraphs of notice in a journal opening under another heading.

And so ends the rough sketch of the reminiscences conjured up as I heard of poor Dubois' death; it has been commenced in haste, completed without skill, but I trust it ends appropriately by saying of my old Commander:

Peace to his Ashes.

CHAPTER IV

ARIZONA IN 1870

April 7th [1880]. My old friend, Capt. "Jerry" Russell, 3d Cavalry, was in Omaha, all day yesterday and today, much to my regret, as I missed the pleasure of meeting the eccentric and good-natured old fellow. . . . Jerry's life, to quote his own words, had been unusually eventful. "Fursth, a bog-throtther, thin a cob-bhler, din an im-migrant, din a 'wea-r-r-y' (i.e. his designation for a private soldier), din a carp-r-r-il, din a Sor-r-gint and now oi'm a commissioned off-sur and a cap-tin fur loife s'long's oi bee-have moisilf, and a gintlemin, bee act of Con-gress, bee J— C—."

Russell, when I first met him at his station, Fort Selden, New Mexico, a post on the Rio Grande long since abandoned, had great trouble with his 1st Lieut. O'Connor,—as already described. . . .

He was the soul of hospitality and never, except on one occasion, failed to invite visiting officers to take "pot luck" with him. The occasion referred to was during the time he was stationed at Fort Bowie, Arizona, a small garrison occupying the place and making it necessary to detail officers from other posts every time a General Court Martial was ordered. A party of young officers—Sherwood, since killed in the Modoc war (in 1873), Silva (run out for cowardice in the Modoc war, in '73), "Jim" Riley and Lewis, both since resigned, and I think, "Paddy" Miles, all of the 21st Infantry, were ordered up from Tucson to assist in administering the decrees of the blind goddess upon "pay-day drunks." Every house in the garrison was thrown open

to them, excepting Russell's, but the explanation received from him was sufficiently clear and satisfactory. His cook had deserted and poor Jerry having himself to "browze around" from house to house for a living, could not possibly do anything for the "in-thir-tain-mint" of the new arrivals. They begged him "not to mention it" but old Jerry refused to be comforted and took the matter greatly to heart, brooding over it more and more with the libations of the afternoon. As night wore on, the potations of most of the officers as, I am sorry to say, was then almost the rule in Arizona and New Mexico, became deeper and more frequent and Russell's maudlin explanations of his inability to entertain were growing monotonous with iteration.

About 2 in the morning, the seance broke up, the young lieutenants being stowed away in one big room, with half-a-dozen hospital cots in it. They were just tucked in nicely under the blankets and getting ready to dream of promotion, sweet-hearts, Indian campaigns and other subjects when they were aroused by the noise of a chair crashing upon the floor and to their horror they saw in the pale light of the moon, a figure all clad in white, holding in one outstretched hand a package of some kind and in the other, uplifted, a gleaming poniard!

Their fears of assassination were promptly dispelled by "old Jerry's" reassuring tones: "Oi'm sor-r-ry to thrubble yiz, gintilmin, but de fact is, oi cudn't slee-eep until oi'd dun somethin fur yur intir-tain-mint. Moi cuke—Lloyd—diserthid las' Winsday, so oi couldn't in-tir-tain yiz at all, but av Lloyd, moy cuke, hadn't diserthid las' Windsay, oi'd a bin moity glad to intir-tain yiz all in moi "miss." But I've brought yiz all some reffrshmint which oi want to share wid yiz, becos' moi cuke, Lloyd, diserthed las' Winsday"—As he spoke, he thrust the hunting knife, he held uplifted, into the mysterious package which discovered itself to be a can of Irish potatoes, and breaking off the cover handed to each Lieutenant in turn a mouthful upon the end of the blade. In vain were protests and excuses: Russell would hear of no denial; he was obstinate in his resolve to do "somethin' fur dare in-tir-tain-mint, "his cuke, Lloyd, had diserthid las' Winsday and he cud foind nothin but purtatees"—and in spite of all opposition, he forced his unfortunate young friends to consume the contents of the can. The next morning they were all sick;—not from the whiskey they had drunk, of course, but from the potatoes forced down their throats at their nocturnal "in-ter-tain-mint."

In the management of his company, he was a stern disciplinarian, as he understood discipline—gentle to the well-behaved, but a perfect terror to the lazy and indifferent. I was talking with him one morning when a new recruit walked up to the Captain to complain that he hadn't been granted a "mounted" pass. Russell explained goodnaturedly that he never gave recruits the privilege of taking a horse away from the Company picket line until he was satisfied they knew how to take care of them. Hereupon, the soldier, in a very insolent way, tore up the "application" he had written and made some impudent remark. Russell never lost his temper, but quietly called to 1st Sergeant Cox, who was standing within hearing. "Sor-jint Cox, I want yiz to try'n foind o noice twinty-eight poun' log fur dis young gintilmin's back; dat'll do my man, dat'll do." (This last to the recruit.) And then turning to me he said, "Oi rickon dat'll put an ind to de young gintilmin's hoi-lar-ri-tee. . . ."

Marching with him from the Rio Grande, N. M., to the Rio Gila (Arizona) in 1870, I noticed his whole company, or nearly the whole, marching on foot, "packing" their saddles and "kits" on their shoulders, while a small detachment, mounted, drove the horses along in a herd in front. Seeing my amazement, he asked me quietly—"Phat do yiz tink ov dim "wea-r-r-ees" ov moine, over dare, Borruk?" Thinking to placate the old man, I answered, that I thought they were a very fine lot of men and that he certainly had the very best company in the regiment. "Do yiz tink so, now, Bor-ruk? said he—well, sor-r-r, on de conthry, dare the damnedest lot ov villins, loyers, bum-mers, teeves, and oi moight say, dam' schoundhrils 'n murdherers there are in dee Unoi-ted Steets Ormy."

Once in Arizona, our respective companies, "Jerry's" E, commanded by himself and the one I was attached to, "F," commanded by 1 Lt. H. B. Cushing, as brave a soldier as ever drew breath, were engaged constantly in hard work with the wild Apache Indians. The traveller of today, who is whirled into Tucson in a sleeping car, drawn by a locomotive, will not readily believe that less than ten years ago, the Apaches made the territory of Arizona a Hell; nor will he, as he visits the wonderful mining district of "Tombstone," readily credit that within sight of where it now is, poor Cushing was killed by Cocheis' band and "Jerry" Russell time and time again whipped by them.

But old Jerry's pluck was indomitable; he kept after Cocheis so long as a horse in his troop could follow the trail, or until the Apaches would scatter like crows. In the Dragoon Mountains, the trail one afternoon had become very "hot," showing that our troops were gaining on the enemy. Russell halted his men long enough to let their jaded horses sip a few mouthfuls of water from the gurgling streamlet which flowed down through the "cañon" and engaged in conversation with Bob Whitney, his guide, as to the plan to be followed in the further pursuit when suddenly from all sides, from every pinnacled crag, bang! bang! sounded the rifles of the Apaches, whose exultant war-whoop told poor Jerry only too plainly that he had been drawn into an ambushade! He turned to speak to his guide, but at that very moment, poor Bob Whitney reeled from his saddle, shot through the head, his brains splashed all over Jerry Russell's face! By great shrewdness, Russell managed to hold the Indians at bay until dark and then sneaked out of the cañon, (fortunately he had not ventured in very far and his halting his company to water almost at its mouth caused some of the impatient young Indians to precipitate the attack) leaving a number of animals, but getting away with his killed and wounded.

He wrote me a long letter soon after, descriptive of his fight, which I remember very well contains the perfectly true, but oddly expressed idea—"Oi tell yiz wat it is, Borruk, it's dam-m-m hor-r-d wor-ruk, dis snatchin' de lor-rills from de br-r-row ov Fa-m-me."

The unfortunate guide, Bob Whitney, was one of the handsomest men I ever saw; with a face deeply tanned by exposure to Arizona's sun, the rich color mantling his cheek was well set off by an abundance of fine glossy black hair and a pair of very expressive, hazel eyes; in statue, though not much over the medium height, he was so finely proportioned that he would be considered tall. He was a good horseman and very daring scout. He showed me a number of bullet wounds received in action with Indians and what caused me most wonder! a half dozen long scars on his right arm, caused by arrows. Whitney was with a party of whites surprised by Indians; the fleetness of his horse saved him, but one young Indian pursued desperately determined to gain his scalp. Whitney kept his sombrero whirling in the air behind his back, warding off the arrows the Indian threw at him. As the Indian was going at full

speed, he couldn't aim or pull so well as if moving more slowly, to which fact Whitney always attributed his escape, almost without a scratch, the three arrows which caught his arms ploughing up only enough of the flesh to leave deep scars.

Russell gained great popularity with the people of Southern Arizona. When the 3d Cavalry was ordered away from the territory (in Dec. 1871), Russell had to march his company out by way of Tucson. While there he was the recipient of a great deal of attention, which he accepted with becoming modesty. Among other courtesies, a number of gentlemen invited him into "Charlie Brown's" "Congress Hall" Saloon to drink his health, in something which was labelled "Champagne." "Jerry's" reply was characteristic: "moi friends, Oi tank yiz fur yur koindness. Oi don't pur-tind to bee a foighter—becos' oi've no mo-no-mee-nia for foightin' Injins, but at the same toime, Oi can't bear to see my friends kilt and dare prop-per-tee goin to der-struc-shun widout doin' somethin' fur to pur-tick thim." (Loud Applause).

That night, a party of nine second lieutenants assembled in a house in Tucson, belonging to Lord & Williams, (one of the principal firms). The purpose of these Lieutenants in thus meeting was vague and ill-defined; it was principally to growl at the dilatoriness of promotion and in a secondary way to drink a little toddy together before parting.

"Jerry Russell" happened by and someone I really can't tell who, proposed that the meeting be properly organized with Capt. Russell as presiding officer. This motion was carried by acclamation and Jerry, with his "blushing horrors thick upon him" was led to the only chair in the house, the rest of the party sitting upon the floor, *a la Mexicaine*, or upon the bundles of blankets in which they had slept during preceding nights.

Then it was moved and adopted that each of the party, in proper turn, should sing a sentimental song, tell an original joke or story or forfeit a bottle of wine. "Jerry" led off in a piping treble, his cracked and husky voice rendering Morre's pretty song in a very feeling way: "Bee-lieve me ov all dim indearing young-g cher-rums" etc. This, as in duty bound, we applauded heartily. Then "Dave" Lyle, (now of the Ordnance Corps, but who at that time was connected with Lieut. Wheeler's Survey in Arizona) gave what he

said was a "Chinnook" song, in the language of that tribe. It sounded like a buzz-saw. Lieut. Ross (an A. D. C. of Gen. Crook's, since resigned) gave us very sweetly "Annie Laurie in the trenches," by Bayard Taylor.

When it came my turn, as I couldn't sing any more than a screech-owl, I yelled at the top of my voice a Spanish madrigal which I had often heard howled by our Mexican packers; and so it went on, each singing as best he could, until the name of W. W. Robinson, my classmate, (now of 7th Cav.) was called. Robinson arose, said he couldn't sing a note and sooner than sing as wretchedly as some of the gentlemen who had preceded him, he would gladly forfeit a bottle of wine. (Tremendous applause.) The wine was obtained without much trouble (notwithstanding it was now past midnight) and drunk with becoming honors. Again the roll was called by our worthy chairman, who was about this time getting to be very drunk and very dignified, and again each in turn rendered his tribute in sentimental song, until Robinson was called upon. He declined more emphatically than before—said he had never sung a word in all his life and would produce another bottle of wine sooner than try. Knowing that Robinson was married and that wine cost \$5.00 a bottle in Tucson, I expostulated with him and said, "sotto voce", "Great Caesar's ghost, Rob, sing something. Anything will do in this drunken crowd"—and thus encouraged, Robinson essayed that beautiful hymn, "Rock of Ages," with which he was progressing famously when Ross (W. J.) in a spirit of deviltry called the chair's attention to the fact that Robinson was trying to impose upon us with a comic song. "Dat's so, Mis-ther Robinson," said Russell, very decidedly, "dat's so; yiz must sing us a sintimintil song, or none at all, at all."

"Why Captain," replied the injured singer, "that's the Rock of Ages,—one of the most beautiful"—"Niver moind, Mr. Robinson," replied the chair, this time with much sternness of manner—"niver moind excuses; it may be a comic song or it may not be, but at laste the ôi-jée is de-soididly objectionable, so yiz'll pay de bottil ov woine widout funder thrubble." Which poor Robinson did with scarce-concealed disgust.

Is it necessary to interpolate the remark that shortly after this the meeting broke up and that we carried our chairman home to bed?

... Of Russell's deep studies in history and philosophy,

I think, I've already spoken, but I must mention his colloquy with Capt. Alfd. Taylor, of the 5th Cavalry, since retired. "Taylor, mee boi," said Russell, oim an Evo-lu-tion-ist—oim an evolutionist. To Hell wid de Pope. To Hell wid de Pope." This was when Jerry and Alfd. Taylor were both very drunk; when sober, Jerry was a dutiful son of the Church. . . .

Friday, April 5th. [1878] . . . Learned of the death of Colonel Thomas C. Devin, 3rd Cavalry, Brevet Major General, U. S. Army. This announcement recalled to my mind my first meeting with "old Tommy Devin," in Tucson, Arizona, in March 1870, where he was Commanding Officer of the District and I was Quartermaster of Major Dubois' Battalion of the 3rd Cavalry, which had just marched into Arizona from its previous station on the Rio Grande. The small-pox was raging furiously in Tucson, spreading each day on account of the curious custom the Mexican population had of burying their dead with processional honors and the music of violin, flute and harp.

General Devin, after consultation with Bishop Salpointe, determined to stretch his official authority to the utmost and prohibit any more funeral processions until the pest had abated; then the town authorities took courage and insisted on all garbage and refuse being removed outside the town limits and burned. The infected were next isolated, and every means taken to eradicate the disease, for which everybody seemed to give the lion's share of the praise to General Devin.

It was a curious place in those days—Tucson: the capital of the Territory of Arizona and the site of a military post, Camp Lowell, it had a greater percentage of American population than would have resided there without those attractions. As a trading point, it was at that time the Emporium of Southern Arizona and Northern Sonora and the depot of supplies for all our military posts between the Mexican boundary and the Gila river. The stores were numerous and well filled with goods required in that climate; the streets lively with people, clad in peculiar garb—Mexicans dressed in loose white shirts, "calzoncillos" or drawers coming to the feet, which were either bare or covered with canvass shoes; hats of coarse straw reaching far beyond the shoulders and having wound about them a band of velvet and bead-work, made to resemble a rattle snake.

So much for day costume; at night this was supplemented with a coarse "serape," or blanket wound about the shoulders. It might be proper to mention as part of the costume the cigarrito, as no Mexican was ever seen without one. In smoking, they display excessive urbanity: the most ragged "payazo" or clown could approach the wealthiest "ranchero" and ask for a light which was never refused. In doing this there was always an immense amount of bowing and scraping and an interchange of polite salutations.

The situation of Tucson was extremely beautiful. To the traveller coming from the East during the month of March the town presented a most inviting aspect, set as it was in a garniture of emerald green barley fields, through which coursed scores of little rivulets flashing like diamonds in the sun. These were the irrigating ditches, carrying to the fecund earth the moisture needed for the great crops of barley and corn raised yearly in the valley of the Santa Cruz. A ramble through the narrow, dirty streets of one storied adobe houses rather rudely dispelled the illusions of beauty aroused by the first glimpse of the town from the hills six miles to the east. Chickens, pigs, dogs and children played, fought, yelled, crowed, squealed and barked in, around and over piles of manure and garbage; such women as appeared were so closely wrapped in thick, black shawls, called "rebosas", as to be unrecognizable. At each corner, little stores, called "tendajons," dispensed supplies which were as different from the articles usually vended in American establishments as was the crowd of Mexican and Indian half-breeds frequenting them from the patrons of village stores in the United States. For example, there was no whiskey for sale; its place was taken by a fiery distillation from the saccharine principle obtained by roasting the stalks and leaves of the Century Plant—Mescal: sugar appeared in the form of little weird, black cakes weighing a pound apiece and worth eight for a dollar. "Carne seca" or dried beef, "jerked" in the sun and tasting, when first put in the mouth, like a bunch of rope, "Chile colorado," an aromatic pepper, the condiment par excellence of the Mexican cuisine, eggs, garlic, radishes, oranges (from Sonora,) and little flat loaves of bread were the main supplies in each of these little places, but coffee and other of our groceries, with tobacco, commanded a ready sale.

A sufficient number of rum-mills, bearing such titles as "Congress Hall," "Dew Drop," and "Magnolia" existed to

attest the presence of American residents. In all, "music," that is to say the squeaking of an ill-tuned harp and mouth organ, charmed the ears of the votaries of the gaming tables. There was no attempt made at concealment. Faro, poker, Diana, and roulette were the American games, but there was also a class of games of Mexican derivation, patronized with equal ardor by both nationalities; these were "Chusas," "Loteria," and "Monte." It was very funny to watch the expressions of the different countenances; the impassive stolidity and cunning of the dealer, mechanically shuffling the cards or rolling the balls; the anxiety, greed, fear, disappointment, hope and exultation alternating in the faces of the betters as they lost or won. The sums changing hands were not great: generally, the stakes ran from 50c to \$5.00; occasionally, some fortunate winner, flushed with wine! I should have said flushed with rot-gut whiskey, would pile up 20, 30, maybe 40 chips, of an aggregate value of from 10 to 25 dollars, and then all interest would converge upon him. The Mexicans were nearly all named "Jesús" or "José," but their American elbow-touchers were "Colonels," "Judges," and "Doctors."

The principal restaurant, in those days, was the "Shoo Fly," on the street running into the Plaza from the Main Street. Mrs. Allen was the name of the presiding genius. The food wasn't as bad as it might have been. Some grumblers used to take exception to the number of flies in the soup, forgetting that the poor little flies had appetites as well as any other form of creation and that if the soup were not good they wouldn't fly into it. Mrs. Allen, in person, waited upon the table, carefully looking after the wants of each guest. The first time I dined there she hobbled into the room, very lame in one foot. I lost my appetite when I heard her say: "Oh my sore toe! That poultice I put on came off again this morning!"

The young officers then in Arizona were a harum-scarum, good-natured, devil-may-care set, who gave General Devin a great amount of trouble to keep them in order. One of them, Lieut. Jerome, of the 8th Cavalry, (long since resigned from service) was marching one Christmas Day, at the head of his Company, down the Santa Cruz Valley into Tucson. As he reached the mill-dam, three miles from town, he dismounted from his horse and threw himself by a dexterous somersault into ten feet of water. This performance was to gain a bet of \$10.00, made with a brother

officer riding by his side. The half chilled officer (winters are sometimes chilly in Arizona, at least too chilly for such actions as above) rode into town and there spent his gains in treating the men of his detachment to whiskey. General Devin sent for the delinquent and after giving him a sound talking to upon the unseemliness and want of dignity of such conduct, dismissed him to his quarters with an admonition not to repeat the offense if he didn't want to be court-martialled. Such is the account of the affair given by Gen. Devin's friends; but there is another side of the story which must not be ignored in any narrative pretending to be impartial. This is the story of Lieut. or ex-Lt. Jerome. He admitted the correctness of the story up to the moment of the interview, but he always claimed that just as soon as General Devin began to berate him, he fixed his eagle eye upon the General and froze him in his seat. Most of the people in Tucson believed General Devin's story and discredited Lt. Jerome's altogether.

About the time of our arrival, Lieut. Winters of the 1st Cavalry, a very gallant soldier, was married. The usual festal supper was had and then the wedding party departed. A quartette of Winter's friends thought they would serenade him but when they assembled under the windows of the room occupied by the bridal couple, none of the party had brought along any music and they were all so elevated with liquor and enthusiasm that they could sing but one song in concert:—"Just before the battle, mother," which they rendered with telling effect.

One of the eccentric, indefinable characters to be met with so frequently on the frontier was "Major" or "Marshal" Duffield: he was to outward appearance remarkable chiefly from the fact that he was the only man in Tucson who ever wore a stove-pipe hat. But he was also renowned for the number of rows and personal "difficulties" in which he had figured, always with success. He carried about with him a small-sized arsenal of revolvers and pistols of all calibers,—if my memory is not entirely at fault, I think he never had less than ten or eleven about his person at one time.

Well, as might be expected, he was an object of dread to his neighbors, even in that rough community. One day a train came in from Texas, and one of the teamsters immediately started to the nearest "saloon" to "hist in a cargo of pizen." Becoming pretty full, he stampeded most of the

quiet citizens from the streets by displaying his revolver in a belligerent way; an operation called, I believe, "shelling the town." Some one told him of Duffield's reputation for his prowess, and awakened in his manly breast a desire to extinguish his rival. But it was a bad day for him when he started out upon his mission. It wasn't long before he found a small cluster of "gentlemen," to whom he made know the object of his search. "Gents, I'm Waco Bill, from Texas, blood's my color, I kerries mee korfin on mee back, kin whip mee weight in bar meat and the hummin' of pistol balls is mu-u-u-u-sic in mee ear—Whar's *Duffield*? I'm a goin' ter whip *Duffield*." The last words had just left his mouth when he found himself sprawling on his back, levelled to the ground by a lightning blow from the horny hands of his opponent. True to his instincts, the Texan as he rolled grasped his revolver but before the weapon could be drawn, Duffield had shot from out of his coat pocket and a pistol bullet lodged in the groin of the unfortunate Waco Bill. "My name's *Duffield*," said the distinguished Arizonian, with a Chesterfieldian wave of the hand, "and them eer's mee visiting keerd." (This story was told by me to Sir Rose Price when we were travelling together with a party of officers on the Loup Fork of the Platte River in Nebraska in 1875, and he made use of it in his book, "The Two Americas," where it may be found even worse told than here. I make mention of this fact to save myself from the charge of plagiarism.)

Duffield was killed by a man named Holmes in a dispute about a mining claim on the Rio San Pedro, in Arizona, in 1875.

Then there was "Charlie Meyers," the "Judge" of the town, who was a sturdy, honest, well-meaning Dutchman, quite well versed in pharmacy and physiology but rather "off color" as a disciple of Blackstone. He discharged the duties of his position with commendable fidelity, making a grand display of "Wood and Bache's Dispensatory," "Parke's Military Hygiene," "Beck's Medical Jurisprudence," and other works of that kind which the ignorant Mexicans who mostly thronged his forum fondly imagined to be Digests and Pandects of all the laws in creation. A few petty fines and amercements, or where the offender was a "vagamundo," (or tramp) sentencing him to two weeks in what the "Jedge" called the "Shane Gang," constituted the extent of the business transacted.

The "Jedge" followed the even tenor of his way, and was growing dignified, bold, gray and heavy-paunched, surrounded by a galaxy of little Mexican children, when one evening his post-prandial meditations were disturbed by a case calling for the exercise of rather more legal ability than the "Jedge" felt he possessed. This was nothing more nor less than a plain case of fraud of this complexion. A German Jew, named Wolf, doing business in a small way as a "Monte-Pio," or Pawn-broker had hired a family of Papago Indians to work in a field he owned. He told them he would give them one "peso" (dollar) for their day's labor. Now the rascal well knew that they understood him to mean the current rate of wages which was one dollar per diem for each grown hand and half for children—as the family was composed of father, mother, son and daughter, it may be understood that they were grievously vexed when they were offered only one-third of the stipend for which they had contracted, not to count the pound of flour which generous people frequently presented to each of these Indians after an unusually hard day's labor.

Appeals to Wolf's reason and generosity were alike in vain; no help was to be had unless the "Juez" (Judge) could extend it and the Jew felt he was a match for the representative of the blind-folded Goddess almost any time. Indians were not competent witnesses, so he told the "Jedge," and more than that he stood ready to prove by his clerk that he had only promised a dollar, that he had already offered it and was now ready to pay it. The poor Papagoes could only urge, through the interpreter, immemorial custom and usage. The judge was nonplussed; his sympathies were plainly on the side of the defrauded Indians, but he couldn't find any way to help them. He looked over his Webster's Dictionary and carefully scrutinized the "Materia Medica"—he could do nothing except adjourn the Court until morning and seek the advice of some well-informed lawyer. So he said slowly: "Volf, I can't find nudding in dem law-books shust now about dis matter and I adshurns dis Goort until der morrer at den o'glock, when ve'll resume id, bud, Volf, vile I can't find nuddin in der law about der gase, I dink it my dooty, Volf, to dell yer that the sheneral obinion of dis gommunity, Volf, is dot you is von Got-tammed son-of-a—, in vitch obinion, Volf, dis Goort most heartily goincides." Wolf lost his temper at this novel exordium, answered the judge in an impudent way, was fined ten dollars for "con-

tempt of court" and started home a wiser and a sadder man. The judge gave half the fine to the poor Papago Indians, who started off in gay spirits, thinking Judge Meyer's Court the very fountain of Justice.

The Papago Indians herein spoken of are as good people as any tribe of savages on the face of the earth. Docile, well-behaved and subordinate, they have never yet killed a white man and for generations have abstained from going on the war path, except when harassed and plundered by their hereditary enemies, the Apaches. Their women are proverbially chaste; a Papago prostitute is a thing unheard of. These people are devout Catholics and rightfully proud of the beautiful church, built with their own hands two hundred years ago, under the superintendence of Jesuit missionaries.

This church, "San Xavier del Bac," is one of the most beautiful examples of the Moresque Style I have ever seen, and altho' it would be presumption for me to lay claim to architectural taste, I will say that San Xavier, altho' built simply of adobe and lava will sustain the most rigid criticism for perfection of detail, of proportion and general effect. It is impossible for any examiner, be his creed what it may, to stand under its cloistered arch and survey its parts, without yielding to a sentiment of religious veneration and paying a tribute of respect to the memory of the great and good men who crossed the sea generations ago to bring the Bread of Life to these poor benighted savages.

My first "ball" or "baile" in Tucson was an affair deserving of mention; the room was without flooring, other than the pounded dirt, the walls coarsely whitewashed and lighted with candles backed by tin reflectors. The ladies were all Mexicans of various shades from deep chocolate, through black and tan to pale lemon; they sat upon wooden benches extending around the room, and without backs, so that to save dresses from the lime on the walls it was necessary to sit bolt upright. No introduction was necessary; if a gentleman wished to dance with a lady, he asked her, and she accepted or declined at her option. After each dance it was de rigueur to invite your partner to partake of "dulces," or refreshments, and in all cases these invitations were accepted, not that the young lady always ate what was purchased for her; frequently she would take the "pasas" (raisins), "bollos" (sweet-cakes) or other refection, wrap them up in her handkerchief and keep them to take home.

Those who wished it could have "mescal" or "wine." In Arizona this "wine" is mostly "imported" and a viler decoction of boiled vinegar, logwood, alum, and copperas never was bottled. The ladies had a curious method of expressing their preference for a gentleman; this was done by breaking over his head a "cascarrón" (literally "eggshell"), or eggshell filled with cologne water or finely cut gold paper. The recipient of this delicate compliment had to return it in kind and then to lead the young lady to the dance. The energetic musicians extorted something like music from their wheezy mouth-organs and tinkling harps. This is my recollection of a Tucson "baile," barren and meagre enough it looks to me now, but there was a time when my companions and myself thought nothing of staying at one of them all night and of going to six in a week if we could.

This is a long digression to make, but the mention of General Devin's death has brought back to my mind my first meeting with him in Tucson and from that the divergence has been easy and I find myself insensibly recalling to mind my long and varied experience in that country, our associates, the scenery and peculiarities, as well as the sterner features of scouting against the hostile Apaches, who in 1869, 1870 and 1871 were complete masters of the Territory but in 1873 and 1874, thanks to General Crook and his soldiers, where the most completely subdued Indians in America. . . .

(To be Continued)

MARKING THE SANTA FE TRAIL

By FREDERIC A. CULMER

ON January 24th, 1825, Senator David Barton (now the "forgotten man" of Missouri) wrote from Washington to Abiel Leonard, a young lawyer of Franklin, Missouri, upon the subject of the Mexican trade.¹ He had received and presented a petition upon it from Boone county. Barton's viewpoint is interesting, for he believed that the trade in "quadrupeds" might be valuable, provided the Mexicans industriously raised them. Ten years later Leonard was sending his own Missouri mules by the hundreds to the south for sale. Barton states that he had introduced a senate resolution calling for inquiry "into the expediency of establishing a fort on that route." He noted further that a "bill also had reported" (Senator Benton of Missouri introduced it) which proposed "nothing but the marking of the road and the acquisition of a right of way through the Indian country." Owing to the excitement over the pending presidential change he doubted the passage of the bill. But it did pass and Benj. G. Reeves, Geo. C. Sibley, and Colonel Menard (later succeeded by Thomas B. Mather), were con-

1. *Santa Fé Letters*, no. 71. These letters (hereafter cited as "S. F.") are at Columbia, Missouri. The Leonard collection consists of the files of Abiel Leonard (1797-1863), whig leader and supreme court justice of Missouri (1855-57).

Abiel Leonard, son of the Captain Nathaniel Leonard who surrendered Fort Niagara to the English during the war of 1812, came to Missouri Territory in 1819 and lived in Missouri until his death. In 1833 he moved from Franklin to Fayette and there built the brick mansion which still stands on "Leonard Hill."

The author discovered Leonard's files in the attic of his old home in 1930, and the entire collection was generously given to the Missouri Historical Society by Nathaniel W. Leonard (son of Abiel) who is still living in Fayette at an advanced age.

The presence of the "Santa Fé Letters" upon which this article is based among the Leonard papers is explained by the fact that Abiel Leonard married a daughter of Benjamin H. Reeves, one of the three commissioners appointed to mark the Santa Fé Road, and by the further fact that later Reeves lived for some time with his son-in-law.

stituted commissioners for the survey and marking of the Santa Fé route.²

News of the proposed survey created in Missouri and adjoining states "an excitement not only extensive but very warm . . . in fact a mania." Applications for positions and work poured in upon the commissioners. Excited individuals sought to bind Sibley by his promise of support, even before he received official appointment. One such aspirant construed Sibley's answer as a promise; a little later he vented his angry disappointment through the press.³ Sibley's denial of promise finds support in letters to Reeves, in which he states that he has received numerous applications for "the appts. of Surveyor and Secretary" but has concluded not to listen to any applications. He suggests to Reeves that nothing be done on the subject until all three confer together.⁴

Reeves notes in his memoranda that he started to St. Louis to make preparation for the trip, on the 5th of May, 1825, and returned to Franklin on the 23rd. Evidently a conference was held in the city. Sibley remained there for some time later. Two things kept Sibley in St. Louis: representatives of the Osage and Kansas Indians were in the city and he desired to conclude "negociations" with them; and he had trouble to find "waggon." He finally contracted with a wagon-maker to build four by June 12th, under a delay penalty of five hundred dollars. From "more than a hundred applicants" he chose six expert rifle-men hunters, "all of good families—Benjamin Jones, Benjamin Robin-

2. Mather seems to have divided his time between Missouri and Illinois. He was out upon the trail for some time. Reeves was a former Kentuckian. His printed handbill in the Leonard file shows that he ran for the Kentucky legislature in 1814. He was lieutenant-governor at the time of his appointment. The governor died a few days later and Reeves just missed being governor of Missouri. Some years later he returned to Kentucky and was elected to the legislature. He died in that state. Sibley was a typical western composite of soldier, business man, and politician. He and his wife later founded Lindenwood College at St. Charles, Mo.

3. This was W. J. Boggs of Franklin, Mo. He had met Sibley on his way from Fort Osage to St. Louis to prepare for the trip. He wanted to be the secretary. Sibley told Reeves that if necessary he would publish an oath of denial. The implication seems to be clear.

4. S. F., 1, 2, 3.

son, James Wells, James Brotherton, Dan'l Murphy and Harvey Clark." Jones was a valuable acquisition; he was "formerly the compeer and favorite of the celebrated trader and Indian fighter Robt. McClellan." Sibley's selections gave offence to "many good but silly men."

The applications may be judged by an illustration:⁵

Jackson, May 25, 1825.

Dear Capt. After my particular respects to you and a Desire for the welfare of your family me and mine is well I would be very glad to see you and of all things to accompany you on your Route to St. Afee if there is time and your company not made up write me stating in what way I shall go and with what Equipage and I will come on without fail if nothing happens more than I know of the woods is my home and the forrest my own give my respects to my friend Col. Burckhardt and receive them yourself.

James Logan.

Not all the applications were of this character. The file contains a very courteous application for the position of surveyor from one William Clarkson, Jr., of St. Louis.

Sibley drew up the camp regulations for "hands," thirty in number, as distinguished from skilled workers and officers. Summarized, they are: all gentlemen coffee drinkers, and those unable to saddle a horse or cook their victuals, are barred; wages, \$20 per month, hands to furnish their own groceries, if any, except in case of sickness; no regular supply of bread to be expected; all hands to be expert rifle-men and hunters; the hands to have a mess separate from that of the commissioners; no access by hands to the commissioners' stores or tents; no difference of social rank to furnish basis for favored treatment; hands must expect that the commissioners will maintain camp order and discipline. Eighteen men placed their signatures on a paper calling for their conformity to all rules and regulations: Edward Davis, Richard Brannon, Thomas Adams, James Davis, Reuben Cornelius, Levi Cornelius, Spencer

5. S. F., 12, 7.

Smith, Ander Broaddus, Samuel Givens, Dudley Dedmen, Daniel East, Joseph Davis, William Givens, Bradford Barbey, Byrd Pyle, Neriah Todd, Garrison Patrick, and Joseph Reynolds. These were the men engaged by Sibley. In a letter of June 5th, 1825, he suggests to Reeves that all hands sign a common pledge before they start out. Reeves selected the overseer of the hands. The surveyor was Joseph C. Brown.

In this same letter Sibley anticipated the arrival of "his party" at Franklin about the 20th of June, 1825.⁶ The progress of the commissioners is marked by the following letters:⁷

Council Groves, August 10, 1825.

Mr. A. P. Choteau:

Sir: The undersigned commissioners etc., have this day stipulated to pay the chiefs and head men of the Great and Little Osage the sum of five hundred dollars.

They request of you to pay those Indians that amount in powder, lead, and knives, and such other articles as they may wish, all of which to be put at the lowest prices.

The certificate of the United States agent for the Osages that you have thus paid them, together with this letter to Messrs. Tracy and Wahrendorf of St. Louis, will entitle you to the above named sum of Five Hundred Dollars, and these gentlemen are hereby requested to pay you that amount on our account.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) B. H. REEVES,
GEO. C. SIBLEY,
THOMAS MATHER.

6. S. F., 2, 6, 45, 48.

7. S. F., 4, 47. Both documents are copies. The first bears the notation, "Filed August 10, 1825," initialed A. G. Archibald Gamble, brother of H. R. Gamble, supreme court judge and provisional governor of Missouri, was secretary to the commissioners. The second letter bears the notation that the original was given to the head chief for presentation to Curtis & Ely, Indian traders at the Kansas village.

Sora (?) Kansas Creek, August 16th, 1825.
Messrs. Curtis & Ely:

Gentlemen: The undersigned commissioners etc., have this day stipulated to pay the Kansas tribe of Indian [here follows an identical sum and manner of payment].

The commissioners conceived it to be their duty to require that the payment be made in the presence of two or more respectable men, whose certificate that the payment has been properly made, together with this letter presented to Messrs. Tracy and Wahrendorf of St. Louis, will entitle you to the above named sum of Five Hundred Dollars, and these gentlemen are hereby requested to pay you that amount on our account.

Respectfully your servants,

(Signed)

B. H. REEVES,
GEO. C. SIBLEY,
THOMAS MATHER.

Subject to the consent of the Mexican government it had been the intention of the United States government to survey and mark the Santa Fé route into that city. The Mexican government having shown an unwillingness to grant permission, the secretary of war, James Barbour, on September 19, 1825, directed the commissioners "to confine their operations within our own territory agreeably to the first section of the Act authorizing the survey and marking thereof." This letter was intercepted at Franklin, Missouri, by Reeves and Mather, who had returned there. Their answers to the secretary of war outline the history of the expedition up to November 5, 1825.

The expedition left "the frontiers of Missouri" on July 15, 1825, and proceeded in the direction of Santa Fé, "running a line" as it went. The commissioners came to the "confines of New Mexico, at the boundary line of the United States," early in September, and there waited further instructions as to the continuance of the road, until the 20th of that month. On that day the party separated, Sibley setting out with his group to Santa Fé to winter, and with

the hope of obtaining a satisfactory point of entrance into "the Mexican settlements," while Reeves and Mather returned to Missouri, locating and marking the "principal sections of the road" as they came home. They informed Barbour that the following spring would see the road completed so far as the border of New Mexico,—the following summer into Santa Fé if the Mexican government consented to the survey.

Four days after they wrote Barbour, Reeves and Mather jointly sent the instructions from Washington to Sibley and urged him, in the event that he should hear unfavorably from Poinsett, United States minister to Mexico, to return to Missouri in order that the business might be closed "as early as possible." This letter crossed a letter to them from Sibley, written from San Fernando de Taos, where, instead of at Santa Fé, he had decided to spend the winter of 1825-26.⁸ His journey there had killed four horses. He anticipated the consent of the Mexican government to continue the road; he requested that Reeves and Mather bring out in the spring, axes, ax handles, mattocks, files, nails, augurs, powder, lead, coffee, tea and sugar. His bartering commodities being low (he bartered for corn, wheat, mutton, etc., from the Indians), he requested scarlet and blue cloth, vermilion, "beeds," knives, awls, and other small articles. He had written to Poinsett and to the governor of New Mexico on the subject of surveying and marking the route into Santa Fé. Since there probably would be no further negotiations with the Indians, he advised Reeves to notify Mr. Gamble that his services would be no longer needed. The file contains a rough copy of Reeves' rather ambiguous letter to Gamble on the advice. One sentence speaks to another point: "Am informed that the Mexican Govt. is somewhat jealous about this little matter of the road and will not consent to its survey without having it mixt up in the General treaty (if I may so express myself) of amity & friendship between the two Govts. . . ."

8. *S. F.*, 8, 11, 9.

The difficulty of establishing mutual understanding between Sibley and Reeves (who sometimes wrote in behalf of himself and Mather), and a very evident desire on Sibley's part for successful negotiations with the Mexican government, increased the complexity of the situation. As late as April, 1826, Mather wrote Reeves from Kashaskia that he had just returned from Washington; that the secretary of war insisted upon Sibley's return because of the failure to negotiate successfully with the Mexican government. Mather suggested that Reeves write to Sibley by out-going traders "that he may loose no time in returning." Reeves acknowledged this on May 7th, preferring a joint request for Sibley's return. Yet he wrote Sibley on May 12th and again on May 19th, 1826, urging his return as speedily as possible.

In the meantime a packet of letters from Sibley, all dated February 7, 1826, had reached Reeves by the hand of "Mr. Brannin." Sibley had been to Santa Fé, where he had interviewed the governor of New Mexico, who had become much interested in the survey. Sibley writes:

I have suggested to the Governor here the propriety of establishing two military posts east of the mountains for the purpose of giving protection to the Road etc., he is greatly in favor of the project,—and has advised his Govt. to have it carried into effect; and I have little doubt . . . but it will be done soon. . . . If the mail arrives . . . I may be able to let you know the results of my communication to Mr. Poinsett.

Whether Sibley had received Reeves' instructions from Barbour at this date is uncertain. He longs to hear from Missouri, and declares that if Reeves "does not bring out a packet of letters he [Reeves] will receive no introduction to the Spanish ladies." He was sending six men back to Missouri for the sake of economy. His letters conclude with an itemized list of needed articles, "predicated on the suppo-

9. S. F., 8, 11, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 33. Reeves filed copies of his own letters.

sition that our fund will not be augmented by Congress, [the appropriation was \$30,000] and that no further Indian negotiations will be necessary."

On the 26th of February, 1826, Sibley received a letter from Poinsett:¹⁰

Legation of the U. S., Mexico,
3rd December, 1825.

Geo. Sibley Esq.:

Sir: I have this instant received your letter of the 12th ult. and as the communication between the capitol and New Mexico is not very frequent, hasten to reply to it by the courier who leaves this [city] tonight.

I have hitherto failed to induce the President of these States to take any part in the survey of the proposed road until after we shall have concluded our treaty of limits.

As there has been lately a change in the administration I have renewed the negotiations and will inform you of the result by the earliest opportunity. Your account of the route is highly satisfactory and will, I hope, aid me to bring this affair to a successful conclusion.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir,
Yr. obt. Serv't
(Signed) J. R. POINSETT.

Sibley answered in part:

Santa Fe, New Mexico,
5 March 1826.

.... The delay on the part of the Mexican government in yielding its consent to the survey and marking of the western section of the proposed route from Missouri to this frontier, is a circumstance that was entirely unlooked for by the commissioners. To me it appears the more extraordinary, for our Gov't does not ask of the Mexican Gov't any participation in the expenses, and I am confident that the road when completed will be infinitely more advantageous to this country than to the western parts of the United States.

10. S. F., 14, 14x, 15, 16; Sibley's packet of letters, 21.

Unless the consent of the Mexican Gov't is obtained in season to reach my colleagues in Missouri, via the city of Washington early in May, I should be very apprehensive that they should decline to meet me here in June agreeably to our arrangements; that the completion of the road will be obliged to be deferred another season, and, which will be worse, we shall have incurred a heavy expense unnecessarily, in consequence of our reliance upon the ready assent of the Government to permit the United States to open the road at its own expense, . . . I enclose you a copy of the communication I made to the Governor of New Mexico on the 5th of January. Possibly you may find it of some use.

I have the honor etc—

(Signed) G. C. SIBLEY.

On May 20th, 1826, he had received no reply from Poinsett, but he was "pretty well persuaded that the Government of Mexico will have seen the absolute propriety of giving its consent to the proposed measure." Though without favorable knowledge he expected Reeves to arrive "early in July"; if the Mexican government withheld its consent at least they could complete the road in the United States as they returned. He hoped to meet Reeves "with full powers to enable us to progress with the road to its completion."¹¹

From a letter written by Reeves to Mather on June 19, 1826, it seems to be evident that these men had decided not to go out to the New Mexican border. By August 20th, Sibley himself was in preparation to leave for Missouri. The only concession granted to him by the Mexican government was "a very restricted permission" for the "examination of the western end of the road" which Reeves could "not think will be conclusive with our government."¹² Sibley was now anxious to conclude the entire work: his letter to

11. S. F., 17. Copies in Sibley's hand. The originals were sent to Washington—see S. F., 36.

12. S. F., 28, 39x, 30. (See "Editorial Note," *infra*.)

Reeves from "Walnut Creek" as he returned to Missouri proposed the sale of the public property in the hands of the commissioners so soon as he arrived. This letter was written September 23rd; on October 17th he wrote Reeves again from Fort Osage, and proposed that five complete copies of the field notes, and five "handsome maps on a scale of 20 miles to the inch," be made. Reeves answered the first letter October 12th. Mather and he had changed their minds; criticism of the road by traders and others caused them to think that, "early next spring," the commissioners would better "pass over the road as far as we deemed it necessary and make the necessary corrections." On October 21st, he wrote again. Mather and he had decided not to make a report to the government until "next spring"; in the meantime they would make "some necessary corrections, as far perhaps as Little Arkansas." A member of congress had told them that the "arrangement of the road was mixed up in the general provisions of the treaty" and Reeves now understood that the treaty had been concluded. He believed now that a suitable appropriation would be made to finish the route, and they had concluded "not to make our report before we hear from the Gov't on that subject." The tone of Reeves' letters suggests decided disagreement among the commissioners.¹³

It is a fair inference that Mather and Reeves were more concerned about the review of their work prior to a report to the government than they were hopeful of the continua-

13. *S. F.*, 30, 31x. On the initial journey out the commissioners had not decided where "the road must cross the Arkansas." (*S. F.*, 16.) Sibley and Reeves had disagreed with Mather on this point. (*S. F.*, 29) Sibley's idea had been that the road should cross the Arkansas "a little above the south bend, at or near the old Caches, and from thence strike the Simaron some 10 or 15 miles below the lower spring." He noted that "the usual route by Choteaus Island, is probably full thirty miles farther round." (*S. F.*, 16.)

They had been uncertain whether "Simaron Creek is a part of the Grand Saline" (*S. F.*, 16), and they had left unmarked certain portions of the road, intending to locate and mark them as they returned to Missouri; which, as Reeves remarked, "we was [sic] unable to do." On June 19th, 1826, Reeves wrote to Mather that "the expense attending a review of our work would be very trifling, and would put a stop to a few animadversions which seem to be afloat against the commissioners in this particular." (*S. F.*, 29.)

tion of the road to Santa Fé. They used the continuation argument to check the impatience of Sibley. But Sibley pressed for an early meeting of the commissioners to complete the work and their report. Reeves set the date of meeting, December 4th, 1826, at Jefferson City. In his notification to Mather, Reeves concludes: "I feel and shall feel desirous [*sic*] not to depart from the agreement we last entered into relative to our takeing [*sic*] a review of our work before we make our final report. But Mr. S. seems so desirous that the comrs. should meet that I can no longer oppose that meeting,—at which time we can either *adhere* or enter into whatever conclusions that may be most conclusive to the public trust committed to us."

The meeting resulted in plans to review the road. A part of the public property was not sold. Sibley returned to his home at Fort Osage. By March 23, 1827, he knew of "the aversion of Col. Mather to make the journey," and had received a letter from Reeves stating his inability to go on account of the ill-health of his wife. Sibley wrote that he would "most cheerfully go alone and do the work . . . expecting that there will arise no difficulty with Col. Mather and yourself in recognizing what I do." He anticipated but little work to alter the survey and bring it to "the track as travelled by the caravans." He did not anticipate the alterations would be "sufficiently variant from the survey to require any alterations of the map." He planned to take "17 mules—one waggoner, two hunters, six laborers, one herdsman (a Spaniard) and one servant," and to start on May 15th. As a matter of fact he started on May 18th, although he had been anxious to be several days ahead of the traders starting out from Franklin that spring.¹⁴

Nothing more appears touching the final review of the route. More than two years later Sibley wrote from St. Charles, Mo., to Reeves and requested his co-operation in a joint communication to Secretary of War John H. Eaton. The commissioners' accounts on the survey were yet unset-

14. S. F., 32, 35, 36, 37.

tled, and they claimed a balance of \$1,504.45 due them for expenditures necessarily made beyond the appropriation of congress. Sibley declared that further delay would be ruinous to him. He urged Reeves to write his congressional friends to bring pressure for payment, and concluded: "I request that my name *may not be* mentioned; for this request I have good reasons, tho they are of a nature personal to myself." On the outside of the letter Sibley requested the postmaster "to assure its being quickly received by Col. Reeves." This letter is marked "Duplicate." The fact probably indicates an identical letter to Mather. Although Reeves inscribed the letter "rec'd this and returned an answer 19th Dec'r. 1829", he did not return to Sibley the joint communication to Eaton enclosed by the former.

Reeves and Mather probably believed the excess expenditures to be Sibley's responsibility. He had stayed in New Mexico against instructions and their wishes. For the last trip he had requested Reeves to hire three hands at \$16.00 per month. Later he wrote that he had hired men at \$20.00. Reeves had contracted at \$16.00. He wrote Sibley to pay all alike \$20.00 if he desired harmony on the trip.¹⁵ Sibley himself had "advanced" the excess expenditures.¹⁶

Sibley's principal financial trouble is outlined in a letter to Abiel Leonard of Fayette, Mo., his attorney. In the fall of 1822, he writes, Paul Ballio, Lilburn Boggs and he had purchased from Sam Blunt, "agent of the U. S.," a stock of goods at "the old Indian trading house" at Fort Osage, "for \$14,000, payable \$4,782.00 on the first of June 1823, and \$9,601.00 on 1st June 1824." The three formed a partnership to trade with the Indians, Ballio and Boggs to carry it on and pay off the bills. They paid off but \$2,000. In March 1825, the United States entered judgment in the district court at St. Louis, against Sibley, for "upwards of \$12,000." Sibley had made himself personally liable to the

15. S. F., 40, 51, 34, 36, 50. See the commissioners' accounts in the appendix for Sibley's expenses in New Mexico, and compare Sibley's own explanation of the excess. The report is in Sibley's handwriting.

16. S. F., 39.

government by record. Boggs, of whom Sibley writes that he "consumed a considerable portion of it," had transferred to Sibley title to some slaves; another creditor had seized them upon execution; hence Leonard's connection with the case. In 1827 the judgment was "at rest as a matter of favor" to Sibley; later the government pressed its claim.

The commissioners' claim came before the United States committee of claims; Sibley had withdrawn it by March 25, 1831. The treasury had refused to accept the commissioners' accounts, because no vouchers, receipts and certificates were attached. The commissioners were charged with the whole amount of the appropriation, so that they stood in danger of being "branded with the name of Public Defaulters ere long." Sibley called a meeting of the commissioners at "Eckhardt's tavern in St. Charles on Friday 17th of June (1831), at ten o'clock in the morning." Evidently they had agreed upon co-operative effort.

From this date the file shows the utmost endeavor of the commissioners to set their accounts in order. Mather proposed the final attempt at settlement. He suggested that Sibley go to Washington with the receipted accounts. Each contributed one hundred dollars to an expense fund. Taking with him a power of attorney to settle the accounts, Sibley, suffering with influenza, set out for Washington December 23, against the advice of friends who urged him to "postpone the journey until the rivers open." On one thing he was determined—to liquidate the public trust of surveying and marking the Santa Fé trail.¹⁷

*Central College,
Fayette, Missouri.*

17. S. F., 37, 41x, 42, 49, 44, 41, 52.

APPENDIX

Commissioner Reeves' memoranda include a reminder to bring to "Dr. Lane", properly labelled, "a skull of each of the tribes of Indians," male preferred. The method of obtaining them is not stated!

The "Commissioners of the Mexican Road" received a salary of eight dollars per day. Reeves' accounts state that he was employed 450 days. A few of his items follow: "Returned Nov. 1st. employed up to 29th—29 (days). Settling with and paying of Mr. Adams—1. . . . Delivering waggon which Mr. Sibley sold to Mr. Dempsey—1. . . . Going to Franklin 5th of May to see Mr. Ballio to arrange with him concerning the waggon which Mr. Sibley requested me to get—2. . . . 17th of May I went to Franklin to pay to Simpson Mr. Sibley's draft to Switzler—returned the 18th . . . —2. [The distance from Fayette, Reeves' home, to Franklin, Mo., is 12 miles.—The author.] . . . In Franklin in pursuit of Mr. Sibley's letter by carrier—2. Two days, 28th & 29th Nov. employed in paying A. & R. Carson, two of Mr. Sibley's hands . . . Nov. 3d employed in paying Mr. Sibley's draft to Adam Mullins and James Burckhardt for fifteen dollars each—1." (S. F., Bk. 3.)

Reeves picked up some incidental information on the route. "An Indian's cure for the bite of a rattlesnake. Take the inner part of a turkey buzzard's maw. Dry it into powder—apply it to the wound." (S. F., Bk. 1)

Sibley's "way bill" of the route which he sent from New Mexico to Reeves, places the distance between Fort Osage and Taos at 743 miles. 37 "stations" are marked upon the route, the distances between them, commencing at Fort Osage and travelling to Taos, being 26, 26, 22, 20, 17, 13, 16, 20, 16, 30, 19, 11, 12, 9, 10, 32, 17, 15, 11, 41, 33, 44, 15, 34, 37, 38, 28, 11, 16, 12, 12, 7, 8, 9, 8, 12, 36 miles. In another place Sibley calls these stations the "camps." He notes the distance from Taos to Santa Fé as about 70 miles "by the circuitous route . . . direct it would be only about 55 miles." The way bill locates Lower Simaron Spring 234 miles from Taos and from that point comes due south to Chouteau's Island, a distance of 34 miles.

It is quite evident from the file that Reeves had to refresh his memory when he came finally to meet the demands of the government for accurate statements of expenditures. On the cover of one of his notebooks he jots down "12 or 14 days in St. Louis." On the inside of the same book he remarks, "I started to St. Louis to make arrangements for the trip Mexican Road on the 35 May [the 3 is crossed out] and returned about 21st, makeing [sic] about 16 days . . ." But he has entered in another book, "Set out for St. Louis to make out prepa-

rations for our trip on the 5th of May 1825, returned 23rd, making [sic] 18 days." The figure stood at 18 in the final reckoning. Reeves states in a copy of his report to the government that he had relied upon his memory a good deal and upon informal notations, since he believed his certificate of honor coupled with his oath would be sufficient.

A copy of the commissioners' account, dated 1827 at St. Louis, and forwarded to the United States government, is in the file. A selection of items appears below, abbreviated in some places:

For 74 mules and horses necessary for the service	\$3,462.25
For 7 waggons complete with extra bolts, etc, ----	905.00
For 32 saddles, bridles and blankets, -----	320.00
For medicine, surgical instruments, hospital stores	203.00
For . . (deleted) Meal, Salt, Bacon, Beef, Groceries	508.00
For In . . (deleted) clotheing [sic] laid in at St. Louis for the use of commissioners . . their intercourse & negociations [sic] with the Indians, -----	1,546.01
Amt. paid to the Kansas and Osage Indians in conformity with the treaties concluded for right of way in territory, -----	1,600.00
Contingent expenses of assembling those Indians,	246.10
Contingent and incidental expenses necessarily incurred by Mr. Sibley in his journey to & from New Mexico & whilst detained there, viz: (Itemized) Total, -----	2,718.33
¹ Travelling and incidental expenses of the Commissioners, Secretary, Surveyor, Interpreters	1,240.95
Compensation, B. H. Reeves, Commissioner, ----	3,600.00
Compensation, G. C. Sibley, Commissioner, -----	5,352.00
² Compensation, Thos. Mather, -----	2,360.00
Secretary Archibald Gamble, -----	640.00
Surveyor Jos. C. Brown (Prime) -----	2,805.00
Surveyor Jos. Davis, (Asst.) -----	187.00
Negro—Abram, Cook, Servant, -----	312.00

"From this statement it appears that the sum appropriated by Congress and placed at the disposal of the commissioners has fallen short of the amount of actual expenses incurred and paid in carrying the Act of Congress into effect, the sum of *Fifteen Hundred and*

1. This charge includes the incidental expenses of Thos. Mather on the journey to and from Washington with the Indian Treaties.—\$178.37½.

2. This charge includes compensation at \$8 per day, for a period of 90 days during which time Mather was on his journey to and from Washington with the Indian Treaties.

Four Dollars & Fifty-four Cents,—of this sum \$898.37 was paid Mr. Mather upon his charge for conveying the Osage and Kansas Treaties to Washington; which it is believed should not have been chargeable upon the road fund, but upon the contingent fund of the War Department. Should this sum be re-imbursed by the Secretary of War, there will yet remain \$606.17 to be provided for further by Congress or out of some spare fund at the disposal of the President.

"The Commissioners declare upon honor that . . . that they have charged their own services & those of the Secretary, Surveyor & others . . . only for time engaged in performance of duties belonging to their respective stations—that no premium was obtained on the drafts sold by them on the Secretary of War . . ." (portion of the concluding statement in the commissioners' accounts and report to the United States.)

Since the manuscript of this article was written the Treasury Department of the United States has informed the author that of the entire appropriation of \$30,000.00, the Act of Congress specified that the sum of \$10,000.00 was appropriated to defray the expenses of marking the road, while \$20,000.00 was to defray the expense of treating with the Indians for their consent to the establishment and use of said road.

The Treasury records show that the commissioners had drawn upon the Treasury to the full extent of the appropriation by December 1, 1826, and that their drafts had been paid.

The Treasury Department states further that under the Act of June 10, 1921, (U. S. Code, Title 31, chap. 1) all the old papers and records in the auditing files were transferred to the General Accounting Office, created by that Act, and under the control of the Comptroller General. The Treasury Department has made request to the General Accounting Office for information touching the final settlement made with the Santa Fé commissioners. Should further information become available, it will be given in a later issue of the REVIEW.

EDITORIAL NOTES

TWO SIBLEY LETTERS.—The late Secretary of the Territory, W. G. Ritch, when he left Santa Fé took with him a considerable body of papers which belonged to the official archives of New Mexico and which he failed to return after he had used them in his historical studies. After the death of Secretary Ritch, his son disposed of these papers in 1927 to the Huntington Library, where they are at present being held.

In August of 1931, the editor was in California and was courteously given the opportunity of looking over these papers. Among them were two letters which are of especial interest in connection with the paper of Professor Culmer which appears in this issue. They read as follows:

Señr. Alcalde:

I am very busily engaged and cannot attend your Summons. I cannot possibly imagine what business you can have with me. A man took the liberty yesterday evening to take one of my Horses from my pasture where he was tied to graze. Some of my men went after him to take the Horse—the Spaniard attacked the man, and in the Scuffle got what he richly deserved. I saw nothing of it, and can give no testimony in the case. I have had examination made, and found that the Horse was not tied so near the wheat as to allow him to eat any. No man is more particular than I am to prevent my Horses from doing injury to the crops. No man is more ready to make just compensation for any injury they do.

I am, and have been, extremely particular in this respect. On the other hand, I will not suffer any person, Spaniard, French or American, or Indian, to take liberties with me or my Property.

In this particular I make no distinctions. If I had caught the man who took my Horse yesterday, I should have ordered him to be tied and sent him to you for punishment—for he did most unques-

tionably deserve punishment, & I trust you will see that he has it.

Being entirely ignorant myself of the transaction except from information, & being busily engaged preparing for my journey homeward, I cannot but decline going to your office, it being entirely useless. Meaning not the least disrespect towards you, Sir, in this determination, I am

Your Mo[st] Ob[edien]t S[er]v[an]t:

August 19th, 1826

G. C. SIBLEY (rubric)

In answer to your Note to me of yesterday, in which you require my personal appearance before you that you may communicate to me certain orders from the Governor of this Territory.

I have to say to you, Sir, that I deem it proper to decline altogether, a compliance with your extraordinary demand. It is well known to you, Sir, that I am here on business for my Government, and you ought to know that whatever official intercourse I may have in the Country must be with the Superior authorities, & not with you.

The Governor is already apprised of every circumstance in relation to my business, and I am in possession of his authority to examine & survey a Road from here to the Arkansas agreeably to the permission granted by The President of Mexico. I shall commence my operations tomorrow, in conformity with that permission, with an escort of armed men.

with due respect, I am

Yr. obt. Svt:

G. C. SIBLEY.

To Pedro Martinez

deputy Alcalde

Rancho.

23d August 1826.

The fact that Ritch found these original letters in the Territorial archives at Santa Fé shows that they had been transmitted to the governor,—who at this time was Col. Antonio Narbona (1825-1827). The letters are of interest because of several historical facts which are brought out by collating them with the material given by Professor Culmer

in this number, and with the material edited by Dr. A. B. Hulbert in the second volume of the series "Overland to the Pacific," under the title *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: the first diaries on the road to Santa Fé*.¹ Dr. Hulbert's publication includes the treaty made by the commissioners with the Kansas tribe at Council Grove; the "Field Notes of Joseph C. Brown, U. S. Surveying Expedition, 1825-27"; and the diary kept by George C. Sibley from October 12, 1825 (after the two other commissioners turned back at Rabbit Ear Creek, to winter in the east), to March 31, 1826. From April to August (and later) we have as yet only what Professor Culmer gives, and these two letters.

The reader of these letters is at once struck with the coldness and arrogance evinced by Sibley. It was the same unfortunate attitude which had been manifest in Zebulon M. Pike twenty years before and which was too often characteristic of those who followed him. Sibley's offensive manner may be explained, but not justified, by an incident which occurred earlier in March. On his return from Santa Fé, Sibley rented a house in Ranchos de Taos and the alcalde summoned him to give a written contract, involving a fee of \$2.00. Sibley brusquely refused to pay, and wrote in his diary: "the Alcalde is as thoro a Scoundrel I believe as I ever came across"—extravagant language for such a petty matter, and one doubtless which was the custom of the country.

Alcalde Pedro Martínez of Ranchos should not be confused with the alcalde of San Fernando de Taos who, with "his son the Curate," waited upon Sibley on the evening after his arrival from the States, officially to enquire as to his business. We know that the curate was Padre Antonio José Martínez, and therefore the latter alcalde was Antonio Severiano Martínez.²

Our chief interest in the letters, however, is in the evidence that permission for the survey from Taos to the Ar-

1. Published by the Stewart Commission, Colorado College, in May, 1933; reviewed later in this issue.

2. Hulbert (ed.), *op. cit.*, 164, 145.

kansas river had finally reached Sibley from Mexico City, and that it had been supplemented by the authority of the governor of the Territory. This corroborates the facts as stated by Professor Culmer, and it raises the pertinent question whether the Mexican authorities did not play a more active part in the whole affair than appears either in these documents or in those edited by Dr. Hulbert?

Twenty years ago the writer called attention³ to the fact that a prominent citizen of Chihuahua, going through Santa Fé, on his way to the States, was commissioned by Gov. Bartolomé Baca in June, 1825, to confer with the United States authorities for the better protection of the growing trade between the two countries. This was done by Señor Escudero first in St. Louis and later in Washington, where "the Mexican *chargé* helped him to secure favorable assurances of cöoperation from the United States government."

Students of the Southwest have almost wholly ignored the Mexican point of view. We know the part played by Senator Benton in Washington; we see Poinsett bringing pressure in Mexico City; and now we have the picture of Sibley stewing and blundering in Taos and Santa Fé⁴—but the archives in Washington and in Mexico City have yet to reveal the story of the "Santa Fé Trade" *from the Mexican viewpoint*. That the Mexican citizens of New Mexico and Chihuahua took an active interest in the trade is shown by the fact that *they controlled over half of it* in 1843 when the total volume of the trade was estimated at \$450,000.00.

L. B. B.

3. "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," in *Old Santa Fé* (Oct., 1913), I, 170-171.

4. Sibley's dairy has five entries of his presence at "farm dances" before he got the Spanish name correctly—*fandango*! He participated at Santa Fé in the celebration over the news that Spain had surrendered her last foothold in Mexico, the fortress in Vera Cruz harbor, "San Juan de Ulloa,"—yet he calls it "St. Juan Allen" and "Ft. Juan D'Alan"! And he rivals the bumptious Pike in the spelling of names like "Tous," "Romaro," and "Luno." Hulbert, *op. cit.*, 133-173, *passim*.

INSCRIPTION ROCK.—Just a year ago¹ we called attention to the new reading of the Silva Nieto inscription at El Morro National Monument, contributed by Mr. A. W. Barth. It is a pleasure to call attention to a well written article by our English visitor which appeared in *Art and Archaeology*, May-June, 1933, pp. 147-156, accompanied by fifteen very fine illustrations.

Evidently Mr. Barth was not given an opportunity to read his own proofs. The title of the Eulate inscription (p. 147) reads "1920" for "1620"; Vetancur is found three times as "Velancur"; and at the top of the page 150 "Zaldivar" is unrecognizable, but it is given correctly below. Such carelessness is a little hard on an author! But these slips detract little from the excellent analysis and discussion of the most important of the early Spanish inscriptions.

It is rather strange, however, that Mr. Barth fails even to call attention to the discrepancy between the Juan de Oñate inscription (p. 151) which clearly reads "1606" and the documentary evidence which definitely shows (as stated, p. 150) that the return from the "South Sea" was "1605." The present writer formerly thought that an old Spanish "5" might have been scored over into a "6" (by someone who wanted to make it more easy to photograph), but a study of the inscription does not make this plausible. Banelier in 1888 noted the discrepancy; and Hodge states that Lieutenant Simpson in 1849 found the inscription as it now is. (see Espinosa, *Villagr : History of New Mexico*, pp. 291-292).

L. B. B.

1. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, 51-52.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors. By Edgar Turlington. (Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. x+449, incl. folding tables. \$6.00.)

The Diplomatic Protection of Americans in Mexico. By Frederick S. Dunn. (Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. vii+439. \$5.00.)

These are the first two volumes of a series of studies on "Mexico in International Finance and Diplomacy" which is appearing under the auspices of the Columbia University council for research in the social sciences. The third volume of the series, by Herbert Feis on *The Foreign Financing of Mexican Railroads*, will doubtless be issued shortly. Planned and guided by a selected committee of the Columbia faculty and financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the series might well be expected to result in comprehensive and thorough research, in an able and authoritative presentation of the findings, and in a conservative and dignified book-form. To the present reviewer these two books seem to reach a very high standard in all these respects.

Perhaps we should remark at once that they may not attract the general reader. The same Press has just issued *Peace by Revolution* (reviewed below) with cartoon illustrations by the Mexican artist Covarrubias and a glaring jacket showing a vulture perched on a cactus—a parody of the historic Mexican eagle; but these two books are innocent of jackets or any illustrations.

On the other hand they should appeal strongly to anyone who wants to have an intelligent understanding of our economic relations with Mexico—and in this class it is to be hoped will be found many of those who, directly or indirectly, hold vested interests in our neighbor country. The day of "economic aggression" ought to be as definitely relegated to past history as is that of "territorial aggression."

Neither volume supplies a bibliography of the basic

material used, but each has an index and adequate footnotes, besides other indications as to sources in preface or introduction. Mr. Turlington's citations show a very comprehensive range, including governmental archives, statesmen and financiers of both the United States and Mexico, with some additional authoritative sources, British, French and German. There seems, however, to have been no direct use of European governmental records. Professor Dunn's materials are almost wholly from the Department of State in Washington, with which he was formerly connected. His narrower range of sources is explained in part by his subject and by the fact that he had already published a book on the broader theme *The Protection of Nationals* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1932). Neither author wholly ignores non-official sources, but a well-informed publicist like Ernest Gruening, for example, is cited just once in each book.

An occasional typographical slip has been noticed: e.g., Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 6 vols., was published in 1883-1888 (Turlington, 16, note) ; Priestley is misspelled (Dunn, 306). Curiously the number of Americans killed in the Villa raid on Columbus, N. Mex., in 1916 is given as fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen (Dunn, pp. 322, 420). But in a rather hurried scanning of the two volumes no adverse criticism of any real importance has been noted. Both are scholarly and authoritative studies which will certainly be welcomed as valuable additions to the field of international relations. In the field of history they will emphasize and illumine problems which have been very serious for over a hundred years for both our southern neighbor and for us.

L. B. B.

Peace by Revolution, by Frank Tannenbaum. Drawings by Miguel Covarrubias. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933. 317 pages. \$3.50.)

The first fruits of Tannenbaum's mission on muleback from one corner of the Mexican Republic to the other,

from the comparatively easily accessible *ranchería* nestled in the lower ranges to the *pueblo* buried in the almost impenetrable fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Occidental, were published in his volume *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (1929). Considered as "a more detailed and authentic account of the actual status of land ownership or control in Mexico than has ever before been available to readers of either English or Spanish," that work exhausted the factual material necessary to interpret the causes and trends of the Revolution of 1910. In that volume the author declined to do other than marshal the facts; *Peace by Revolution* is the result of his serious consideration and study of what these facts prove and reveal—it is Tannenbaum's interpretation of the basic causes of Mexico's unrest. While his former work tends to repel the average reader because of its imposing, scholarly array of quotations, tables, graphs, statistics, and similar data, his present one fascinates by the depth and clarity of its vision and the almost relentless reasoning and analysis of the facts. This is the work of the scientist, of the true scholar, who, after making a thorough survey of his field, seeks to sound and determine the immutable laws that motivate man and society.

Tannenbaum would explain the social revolution of the last twenty years as "an attempt to liquidate finally the consequence of the Spanish Conquest," and he adds that "this explanation of the Revolution is at the same time the best key to Mexican history." Spain, although one of the leading European nations during the Renaissance, had retained much of the feudalism of the Middle Ages; these feudal traits prevailed in her colonization of the Aztec empire. The War of Independence destroyed Mexican dependence upon Spain but left intact the feudal structure inherited from the mother country. The hundred years of strife that have characterized her national life have resulted from the attempt to transform Mexican society into a world of modern ideas without reckoning with the three major institutions that were left as a heritage from Spain

—the army, the Church, and the plantation. The *Reforma* was successful in curbing to a large degree the oppressive tyranny of the former two; the destruction of the feudal landholding system was the task of the Revolution of 1910. That task is "still only partially achieved."

Why did the Mexican Social Revolution break out in 1910, the best of the years of the Díaz régime? The tinder that had been accumulating during the patriarch's reign was of a most inflammable nature: the local *cacique*, with local loyalties, had been reduced to an enemy of the locality; adherence to the positivism of Comte had nurtured the credo of the superiority of the white man and provided the legislators with moral justification for a systematic attack upon the communal holdings of the Indian; foreign acquisitions had made "Mexico the mother of foreigners and the stepmother of Mexicans"; public life had become an old man's prerogative—politics had stagnated, party organization did not exist; all political rights and liberties had been suppressed. The spark that set the country aflame was supplied "by the demand of the younger generation for opportunity to take part in politics." Madero and his group made the demand; the pressure, however, came from below, from the masses who have moved to greater freedom and greater power while the outstanding political personalities of the Revolution have largely gone the way of a Pancho Villa, a de la Huerta, and a Zapata.

So rapid and varied have been the cross currents of the Revolution that it seems impossible to discover any given direction in the movement as a whole. Tannenbaum, after reviewing these multiple waves, hails the Constitutional Convention of 1917 as the most important single event in the history of the Revolution. "It definitely marked off the past from the present and the future in Mexico, . . . and once and for all set a definitive legal program for the Mexican Revolution."

Articles 27 and 123 were the distinctive features of the Constitution; the former upholds the formula that "prop-

erty in fee simple has ceased to exist in law," the latter consists of "a body of rights and prerogatives for labor." The full significance of these legal provisions may be more thoroughly appreciated in the succinct summary that Tannenbaum makes in describing the new trends in the Revolution: "Until 1917 the struggle was to formulate a program for the destruction of the feudal structure of Mexico. Since 1917, it has been to maintain the gains written into the Constitution." The tide has definitely turned; it is no longer a struggle merely to hold in check the institutions bequeathed by the Conquest; it is now a defense, national in scope, of the new ideals that tend to the discovery and realization of the Mexico of the future.

The chief by-product of the Revolution, therefore, is spiritual: a discovery by the Mexican people of their own dignity. "This spiritual change is best seen and most significant in the new attitude towards the Indian . . . The Indian has been discovered by the Mexican people, discovered in the sense of evaluation, in the sense of acceptance, in the sense of gladness. . . . Mexico is becoming a nation to the extent that the whole of the country is embraced in the political conscience of its governing groups." If the Revolution wins, "Mexico will become characterized by thousands of little communities owning their land in semi-communal form, tilling them collectively, with a school in the center, with a high degree of community co-operation for many activities, with a basis for democratic government resting upon a unified community. That is the ideal." Racial and cultural unity was denied for four centuries. The Mexico of tomorrow will arise from the fusion of "all the variants of life and culture that make up the Mexico of today. . . . It must be a process of adoption of the white culture by the Indians and a reciprocal adoption of the Indian culture by the whites, each group absorbing and modifying, a process of mutual infiltration and fusion that will not involve sudden and violent destructive denial."

These are, in the main, Tannenbaum's conclusions per-

tinient to Mexico's present struggle for "peace by revolution." It should be a revelation to all those who have never been able to penetrate the sanguinary, bandit-like character of this social strife; not as an intruder but as one who calmly and altruistically interprets these movements from within, Tannenbaum has, we hope, definitely dispelled the unsavory myth that not only Mexico, but all Latin-American countries, know not whither they go.

One may not agree with all of this "revolutionary economist's" statements. He is prone to make sweeping generalizations, to many of which some readers will object. He himself often contradicts, or at least, renders some of these generalizations most untenable. I cannot concur in that the answer for Mexico seems to be to *undo* the effect of the Spanish Conquest. Certainly, "undo" is too strong a word, as the author himself admits. He concedes the unquestioned good fruits of the work of the "spiritual" conquerors; he believes that one of the strongest cultural bonds that must eventually prevail is the language that has preserved for us the written accounts of that epic achievement; and he sees hope for Mexico in the complete fusion of the two cultures that have thus far largely pursued their own paths. This is not the "complete repudiation of the Spanish Conquest" that he speaks of in closing. "Complete repudiation" is not the "open sesame" to all of Mexico's problems; it is certainly not the answer to Mexico's ultimate salvation.

The incessant reasoning, and the continual driving home of an idea—which explain the repetitive nature of the opening chapters of the volume—are relieved by the inclusion of some fifteen fascinating drawings by Covarrubias. The great personalities of the Revolution pass in review, and we are permitted a moment of relaxation, paradoxical as this may seem, in the presence of Villa, Carranza, Madero, Calles, Obregón, Díaz, and Zapata. Other drawings portray significant aspects of present-day Mexican life.

A short, concise bibliographic note and a most-welcome index score additional fine points on the "quality side."

The volume is very attractive, far more so than his former one. It lends itself to easy reading and, in general, is representative of the fine work done by the Columbia Press. Unfortunately, a most unusual number of errors, mainly typographical, are to be noted throughout the work. Careless punctuation and the failure to quote many terms that are constantly reappearing are to be charged obviously to the author. They are overshadowed, however, by the many good features of this timely "interpretation"; it is only to be hoped that they will be effaced in a future edition.

JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK.

University of New Mexico.

Mesa Land. By Anna Wilmarth Ickes. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1933; 236 pp., \$3.00.)

Mesa Land by Anna Wilmarth Ickes should be a pleasant book to carry in the pocket of an automobile headed southwest. It is directed to an audience of potential travelers on southwestern roads—an audience warned of sand, of arroyos in flood, of cold desert nights, but lured by glimpses of the daily life and the ceremonial of Southwestern Indians.

"The Indian of the Southwest repays knowing whether from the standpoint of the archaeologist, the ethnologist, the historian, or just human interest, and if this book will encourage anyone to look at him, not merely as a bit of local color, not as a romantic or grotesque figure, the subject of story or canvas, and today we must add movie, but as a man among men, a woman among women, and a present day comrade on our continent, it will have served its purpose."

Stating her program thus explicitly in the introduction, the author goes on with a brief preliminary account of the country—its greens and browns, its roads, and even its long departed camels. A chapter on the history of the

Southwest provides background for the following chapters, which in turn touch on the history of the Navajo, the Navajo today, the cliff dwellings, the kiva, the pueblos in general, the Zuñi, the Hopi villages, the Hopi snake dance, Ácoma and other pueblos (a chapter including a page or two each on Laguna, Sía, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochití, San Ildefonso, and Taos), and finally on the eagle and the snake in Southwestern Indian ceremonial and symbolism. The book is beautifully illustrated with photographs, one of the most attractive of which is that of a painting by Fred Kabotie of the Hopi Eagle Dance, used as the frontispiece.

Since so much ground is covered, the treatment of each of these peoples is necessarily rather brief. More attention is given to the Navajos than to any other tribe—and even they, past and present, get only thirty pages. Nevertheless, here and there through the book, a man, now in a hogan, now on a plaza, now in a pueblo room, comes to life in a way that makes us glad that he is “a present day comrade on our continent.”

We are glad to become acquainted with the Hopi who said, “When a Hopi wakes up at sunrise and goes out to say his morning prayer he goes to the edge of the mesa and all is beautiful and he is happy and he stays happy all day and you like him. When the man of — [mentioning one of the Rio Grande pueblos] goes to his door, he sees just a dusty plaza and that doesn’t make him happy and you don’t like him.”

We are glad to know the Zuñi who denied any feeling of resentment with the words “Resentment would only hurt me.”

We shall respect the cacique who regretted so earnestly the encouragement tourists gave to the pueblo children who ran up to them demanding money:

“One white man said: ‘Why don’t you tell them not to?’ With dignity and a courtesy not to be conveyed by the written word the old cacique replied: ‘An Indian does not teach his child by saying “don’t,” but by the example of his elders.

Why do your people treat my child as though he were a beggar?" "

In the book there are alluring glimpses of ceremonies come upon unexpectedly, of Navajo firelight, and Pueblo plazas in the sun. No pretense is made of analyzing ceremonies about which little is known to the white man. The account is simply of what an interested traveler in the Southwest may see and feel if he keeps his eyes open and his sympathies sharpened. It is a letter and a promise to any who will take the roads of Mesa Land, written by one who has taken those roads many times, and loved them.

For those who wish to read more extensively there is an excellent bibliography, including historical, archaeological, and ethnological material, much of which has been quoted and recommended throughout the book. *Mesa Land* should stimulate as much interest in these other books as it does in the country.

FRANCES GILLMOR.

University of New Mexico.

History of New Mexico. By Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà (1610) ; translated by Gilbert Espinosa, edited by Frederick W. Hodge. (Quivira Society Publications, Vol. IV, Los Angeles, 1933. 308 pp. illus. \$7.00.)

Most scholars look askance upon compositions that purport to be literary, and are sometimes loath to employ such works as a reliable source for historical accounts. This disinclination increases all the more when the source in question happens to be in verse, for poetic meters have seldom been the vehicle of chronicle. The Spaniards, however, had a long established custom, as Dr. Hodge points out in the Foreword, "to record the exploits of Spanish arms in the form of poems." Villagrà's epic, however, though written in verse, and sometimes better verse than we are likely to admit, is as true a narrative as it was possible to obtain from an interested eye-witness and participant. His lack of historical accuracy may be due to his rich imagination and lack of objectivity.

The early chroniclers of America have elicited a great deal of adverse criticism due to their exaggerations and in some cases inadvertent inaccuracies. Considering the conditions under which these men had to write, the difficulties of travel, and the constant peril of losing their lives, it is a wonder that they took time to write at all! Furthermore, the newly discovered lands by their very nature, their magnitude, their grandeur and novelty, were conducive to stimulation of the imagination, so that what we today condemn in the name of historical veracity may easily be condoned by ascribing to literary imagination such deviations from actual fact.

The average student of history, upon reading Villagr a's History of the Conquest of New Mexico is immediately repelled by the fact that it is written in poetry, and in many cases the book is overlooked as a reliable source, because Villagr a committed the sin of attempting verse. Had he been content like Bernal D az del Castillo to use prose throughout, his epic would have fared much better.

Mr. Espinosa's translation of Villagr a's memorable history renders a service to both the student of literature and of history. Very wisely has the author chosen to translate into prose, for had he attempted verse further distortion would obviously have been necessary. The original is simplified in many instances, though in some cases the renderings may be doubtful. The free translations, however, are restricted to those portions of the poem that appear somewhat obscure. A bit of the flavor of early seventeenth century Spanish is kept throughout Mr. Espinosa's work, and thus he is able to convey both the matter and spirit of Villagr a's original composition.

An occasional mistranslation here and there may be of interest to the minute and impeccable scholar, but save for such small details, the work as a whole is a fine rendering. *Dar garrote*, for instance, in Canto XV, was a form of punishment or a "third degree" applied to both Spaniards and Indians and not an execution as it is here translated. In

Canto XVI (p. 150, Espinosa) the reference made to the Cíbola is merely a proper name. It is interesting to see that the name *gallina de la tierra* has been a favorite in this region to the present time instead of the accepted Aztec word *guajolote*. The word *montes* as used by Villagr  does not mean "mountain" but rather "wild." The same adjective is today applied to "wild cat" in Spanish, thus: *gato montes*.

The rhetorical distortions in Villagr 's epic are a stumbling block to any translator. Having written at a time when such poetic liberties were not only admissible but in vogue, it would be impossible to follow faithfully such difficult passages as appear in the poem.

Mr. Espinosa's work gives us the impression that he wrote the first part more meticulously than the last ten Cantos. His style wanes somewhat towards the end. It is apparent nevertheless that the translation represents a considerable amount of work, and Mr. Espinosa is to be commended on the completion of so difficult a task.

The book would not be complete without the enlightening annotations of Dr. F. W. Hodge. At times they may be controversial, but more often they try to clarify the literary liberties that the soldier poet took upon writing history. Moreover, the notes supply a host of information that is otherwise unaccessible, and such sidelights point out how complete an account Villagr  gave us of the New Mexican undertaking. Would that the duties of his sword had given more leisure to his pen!

The form in which the work is published leaves nothing to be desired, and those eager to learn the first impressions of the white man's contact with the aborigines will find Mr. Espinosa's translation very delightful reading.

ARTHUR L. CAMPA.

University of New Mexico.

Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: the first diaries on the Road to Santa Fé. Edited by Archer B. Hulbert. (The Stewart Commission, Colorado College, 1933. xiv+301 pp.; maps and illustrations; index. \$5.00.)

The second volume of the "Overland to the Pacific" series comprises an interesting group of source materials, brought together and delightfully edited by Dr. Hulbert, director of the Stewart Commission.

The contents are presented in two parts, of which the latter, called "Extensions of the Santa Fé Trail," takes us with Pike from Santa Fé south to Chihuahua and east to Natchitoches; and with Antonio Armijo from Santa Fé west to California. Historically this treatment is open to question, for the old Chihuahua Trail had been in use for two hundred years before Pike showed up; and for over fifty years the Spaniards (and later the Mexicans) had wanted to connect New Mexico with California—and the journeys they made can hardly be regarded as an extending of the Santa Fé Trail (from the United States).

In Pike's diary it is unfortunate that his vagaries in spelling should have been accepted, some of his errors being reproduced even in brackets. A few examples are "Salteol" (p. 203), "Pojouque" (p. 209), "Malgares" (214). Unedited are names like Facundo Melgares (226), Taos, St. Bartholemew (Cochití; p. 219), "Tousac" (Atrisco; 227), Sevilleta, Maynez, "Hymie" (*Jaime*; p. 258). At page 275 the editor has confused the Red river proper with the Colorado river of Texas.

In the Armijo diary, several Spanish terms seem to be misunderstood. In New Mexico usage, *ceja* (pp. 283, 284, 287) means a crest or divide; *milpitas* (286), small fields; *yerba del manso* (288) is a medicinal herb native to the Lower Sonoran life-zone and is still to be had in nearly any drugstore.

Part I of the volume, on "The Santa Fé Trail" proper, is arranged in six sections upon which some comment may be of help to students of the Southwest.

1. "The Vanguard of the Pioneers: with bibliographical resumé 1810-1825." A valuable introductory discussion by Dr. Hulbert of the pioneers and early writers of the period, embodying lengthy excerpts from *The Eclectic Review* (London, 1811); the *Missouri Gazette* (May 13, 1813); and Edwin James' account of Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition (1823).

2. "Vial and Becknell: Pathfinder and Road Breaker." The diary of Pedro Vial (here edited) from Santa Fé to St. Louis in 1792 has been difficult of access, but there should at least be mention of the other diary of Vial's *return* to Santa Fé in 1793 which was edited by Dr. A. B. Thomas in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. IX, 195-208. The latter more nearly followed the subsequent route to Santa Fe. Dr. Hulbert's comment on the Melgares and Vial routes (p. 49, note 37) is hardly justified, and he should have corrected the confusion of the Red river with the Rio Grande (same page).

By some unfortunate slip, Becknell is called "Thomas" instead of "William" throughout the book except in the signature of his journal (p. 68). It should be noted that Becknell's statement combines his *first two trips*.

3. "A Trail Born of a Trade." The writer believes that Dr. Hulbert is mistaken in thinking that Storrs and Marmaduke were members of *the same party* in the summer of 1824. Here we are given the important Marmaduke journal (from the *Missouri Historical Review*, VI); the replies by Augustus Storrs and Richard Graham to the questionnaire of Senator Benton (from congressional records, and *Niles Register* of Jan. 15, 1825); and the treaty of the "road commissioners" with the Kansas tribe on August 16, 1825. "Wymos" (p. 86) needs a bracket: [Guaymas]; and the "superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis" (95) was O'Fallon.

Sections 4-5 belong together: "The Survey of the Santa Fé Trail" and "Sibley's Santa Fé Diary." The first consists of the field notes as compiled by the surveyor, Joseph C. Brown, and gives the distances in miles and chains from

Fort Osage (Sibley, Mo.) to San Fernando de Taos—with supplementary remarks as to the two routes for reaching Santa Fé. For the road from the international boundary to Taos, the field notes have been reversed; as we know that this part of the survey was actually made in the other direction.¹ The editing here is especially good, and it includes Sibley's explanation of the naming of "Council Grove."

The text of Sibley's "Santa Fé Diary" was secured from the Missouri Historical Society and yields many points of historical interest. Why he is called "General" and "commander of the expedition" is not clear; for Reeves was clearly regarded as head of the commission, even while Sibley was in New Mexico. Errors in spelling are unfortunately numerous, some of which trace back to Sibley but many of them clearly come from misreading of the manuscript and slips in proof-reading.

6. Part I is rounded out (again from a government publication) by the letter of Alphonso Wetmore to Sec'y of War Lewis Cass, dated at Franklin, Mo., October 11, 1831, in which Wetmore embodies his diary record from May 28 to August 2, 1828.

The book as a whole, in content and format and illustrations, is an admirable piece of work. It is a valuable addition to Southwestern *Americana*.²

L. B. B.

1. See the paper by Professor Culmer and the two Sibley letters, *ante*, pp. 78-97.

2. As we go to press, there is telegraphic announcement of the death of Dr. Hulbert on Christmas Day. By his genial personality and long study in his chosen field of research (the trails and highways of our country) Dr. Hulbert won the regard and esteem of a wide circle of friends and associates to whom his passing will bring sorrow. It is to be hoped that his labors in this particular series were sufficiently advanced so that it may be carried to completion.

New Mexico History and Civics

By

LANSING B. BLOOM and THOMAS C. DONNELLY

COMMENTS OF READERS

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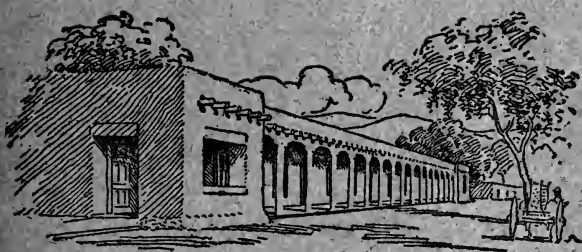
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PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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OF THE

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(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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APRIL, 1934

No. 2

THE LEGEND OF SIERRA AZUL

*with special emphasis upon the part it played in the
reconquest of New Mexico*

By JOSÉ MANUEL ESPINOSA

THE first reports of the fabulous Sierra Azul date from the middle of the seventeenth century, and both the legend and the name persisted in the frontier tradition of the region and in Spanish American geography until the nineteenth century. By all reports, Sierra Azul was another Zacatecas, or Potosí and Huancavelica combined. In the transmission of the tale, the alleged location of this lost mine often changed, and in the colonial period the place was never found. First it was believed to be somewhere in the vicinity of Zuñi, then west of Zuñi and Oraibe. But the legend was not without basis, and the search was not all fantasy. In spite of the many false elements which were added to or identified with it in the course of time, toward the end of the last century, with the opening of rich gold, silver, and quicksilver deposits throughout central Arizona, it stood revealed as literal fact, at a time when the story itself had been forgotten and no longer a factor.

* * *

From all indications some elements of the legend can be traced back to the old reports of Cárdenas, Espejo, Farfán, Escobár, Oñate, and the others who accompanied them and lived to tell the tale, modified by the exaggerations and changes of oral tradition, and confused with later accounts brought back by explorers both from New Mexico and New

Vizcaya. For Sierra Azul was persistently said to be west of Zuñi and the Hopi villages, or what is now western New Mexico, Arizona, and southern Utah—the half mythical region which these men visited in the course of their explorations; and there are traditional features of the legend itself which have much in common with these older reports of the region in question. Therefore, let us first point out how New Mexico came into history, the legendary character of its hinterland, at a later date the land of Sierra Azul, and the building up of the tradition from which the legend of Sierra Azul drew its origins.

After Cortés found and conquered the wonderful city of Mexico, and Pizarro captured a ruler who paid for his ransom a room, the size of a freight car, full of gold, men were led to believe almost anything. So while some adventurers sought in the south “another Perú”, others scoured the northern interior, hoping with reason to find “another Mexico.”

It was in this generation that New Mexico came into history. Cabeza de Vaca and Friar Marcos paved the way. Then Coronado sought wealth and fame in Cíbola and Quivira, only to return to Mexico disillusioned. García López de Cárdenas, at the head of a Spanish reconnoitering corps of the Coronado expedition, traversed the whole of northern Arizona from east to west in 1540, and came back with fascinating tales of Grand Canyon and the Painted Desert,—the first Europeans to visit the region. The expedition soon became legendary, and before 1554 the historian Gómara represented Coronado as having reached the coast, where he saw ships from Cathay with prows wrought in gold and silver, thus laying the foundation for endless confusion.¹

After Coronado, New Mexico and Arizona were unvisited for four decades. These bold adventurers of the first generation of the Spanish conquest in America gained

1. This tale, often repeated after Coronado's expedition, was credulously perpetuated in the seventeenth century by Gaspar de Villagr  in his *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Alcal , 1610), canto V. (English translation by Gilberto Espinosa, Quivira Society Publications, Los Angeles, 1933).

little wealth, but their heroic marches put to rest the extravagant tales of great cities in the north, and taught Europe an important lesson in American geography. After about twenty years of rainbow chasing, every reasonable rumor was run to its lair. The adventurers settled back on the established frontier.

Meanwhile rich mines, settled Indians to convert and exploit, new opportunities for farmers and ranchers, and Indian trade were the attractive forces which pulled the frontier of settlement northward from the central valley of Mexico. Mines attracted most attention, and furnished Spain with the most revenue. And in the last half of the sixteenth century the mines of northern Mexico produced quantities of silver much greater in value than the wealth obtained by Cortés and Pizarro combined. From now on, in the north, the search for lost mines to be exploited brought on a new cycle of frontier legends. The legend of Sierra Azul was a creation of the mine complex of this period.

By 1580 the northern frontier of settlement of New Spain had reached the head of the Conchos River, and from then on expeditions into the north were frequent, and explorers came back with more definite knowledge. In 1581 Fray Agustín Rodríguez led a colonizing expedition into New Mexico from Santa Bárbara, New Vizcaya. Eleven mines were found, all having great veins of silver. From three of them ore was brought to Mexico City in the following year, and one of the samples was found to be half silver.² These adventurers met Indian resistance, and in 1583 Antonio de Espejo led a rescue party of soldier-traders but arrived too late.

After the avowed purpose of his expedition had been accomplished, Espejo pushed northward in search of a lake of gold said to be in that direction. He did not find the lake so he turned westward. At Zuñi and Moqui the natives

2. Account of Felipe de Escalante and Hernando Barrando, in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Idéd.*, XV, 146-150. English translation in Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1925), 154-157.

repeated the stories regarding a large lake farther on, and said that its shores were inhabited by people who wore gold bracelets and earrings, and who travelled in canoes carrying large balls of brass color in their prows. They also spoke of gold mines farther westward. To Espejo they gave clear signs that what they said was true. From Moqui he pushed forty-five leagues west in search of the mines until he reached the region west of Prescott, Arizona, where he found mines from which he extracted ores which he believed to be rich in silver.³ Luxán, who accompanied him, later reported that the mines were of copper, and that no traces of silver were found.⁴ Nevertheless, the expeditions of Rodríguez and Espejo, with their reports of rich mines, stirred up an enthusiasm on the northern frontier of New Spain much like that which had preceded the Coronado expedition.

But it was defense which became the primary motive for the permanent occupation of the northern borderlands. The rest of Europe had always looked with envious eyes on the Spanish monopoly in the Western Hemisphere. Every Spanish frontier in America became a danger-point. On her northernmost borders Spain suffered similar onslaughts of French, Dutch, English, and Russians in successive waves. The New Mexico salient was only partially defensive in origin, but it was foreign danger that finally nerved Spain to take the deep plunge into the distant wilderness. Beyond the Pueblos lay the Strait of Anián, whose western extremity the pirate Drake was said to have found. This, combined with new flights of fancy, encouraged by time and distance, and the fact that in the upper Río Grande lived sedentary Indians to convert and exploit, caused the frontier of settlement to jump eight hundred miles into the

3. Narrative of Antonio de Espejo, is Pacheco and Cárdenas, *op. cit.*, 101-126 and 163-189. English translation in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 168-192. For conflicting opinions as to the location of these mines see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 88; Bolton, *op. cit.*, 187; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Luxán's Espejo Expedition* (English translation, Quivira Society Publications, Los Angeles, 1929), 108.

4. Hammond and Rey, *ibid.*

wilderness, from southern Chihuahua to the upper Río Grande.

In 1595 Juan de Oñate was awarded a contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico, and in 1598 he set out for the north with a large expedition. In the course of Oñate's explorations in western New Mexico in the fall of that year, Captain Marcos de Farfán was sent west from Moqui at the head of a party to find the gold fields of Arizona which Espejo had discovered. According to Farfán's diary, the Indians gave them powdered ores of different colors on several occasions along the way. At the northwest branch of the Verde River, Farfán asked to see the mine from which they obtained these ores, and he was led to a place either on the east slope of the Aquarius Range, or in the Hualpai Range.⁵ Here, about thirty or thirty-five leagues west of Moqui (the accounts differ), they found many veins rich in brown, black, water-colored, blue, and green ores. The blue ore was said to be "so blue that it is understood that some of it is enamel." They staked out claims and brought back samples and detailed reports. According to Farfán, "the said mountains are without doubt the richest in all New Spain," and "the veins are so long and wide that half of the people of New Spain can have mines there." On the return of the expedition the samples of ore brought from the west were distributed among various men of mining experience at Pueblo San Juan to be assayed, and it was declared that from one sample the assay showed eleven ounces of silver per quintal.⁶

Oñate had long projected an expedition to the South Sea, and in 1604 it finally materialized. He went over the ground covered by Espejo and Farfán. Oñate crossed the Little Colorado River, which was said to have received that name "because its channel and that whole region was as red as blood with vermilion."⁷ At a place probably farther

5. Bolton, *op. cit.*, 245.

6. Juan de Oñate's account of the discovery of the mines, 1599. (English translation in Bolton, *ibid.*, 239-249).

7. Juan Matheo Mange, *Luz de tierra incógnita en la América Septentrional y diario de las exploraciones en Sonora* (1720), part I, 125. (See appendix).

east than where Farfán did most of his prospecting, Oñate and his men, along the skirts of some very high mountains, found very good ores. From the Mojave Indians below Bill William's Fork, on the lower Colorado, they first heard news of the Lake of Copalla, to the northwest, the inhabitants of whose shores wore bracelets of gold. As they continued down the river the story was repeated. They were frequently shown silver objects, and the natives, describing as best they could, convinced the Spaniards beyond doubt that there was white and yellow metal on an island farther west. But some had grave doubts as to whether or not the yellow was gold or the white silver.⁸ On the return journey these Indians repeated their previous statements when questioned. Oñate's expedition to the South Sea, though of the greatest importance and accurately narrated, had slight effect on real knowledge of geography, its chief effect being to complicate the vagaries of the northern mystery. The reports apparently reached a limited audience. But a tradition of rich mines in the west was by now well established.

Meanwhile the rebellious pueblo of Ácoma was destroyed, and the Spanish occupation of New Mexico was thus assured. During the first half of the seventeenth century frontiersmen of the New Mexico settlements along the Upper Río Grande pierced the wilderness in all directions. Hunter, missionary, and trader, led the way. In the course of their activities they brought back reports, and even evidence, from the west, which lent plausibility to the glamorous tradition established by Oñate and those who preceded him. Inquiries led to new rumors. Then in 1626 Zárate Salmerón drew up a report on conditions in New Mexico, in which he caused further confusion of the earlier reports. Zárate Salmerón stated,⁹

8. See Bolton, *op. cit.*, 268-280, and his "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate expedition to California," in *The Catholic Historical Review*, V, (1919), 19-41.

9. Gerónimo Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones de . . . Nuevo Mexico*, in *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* (3rd series, Mexico, 1856), I, 1-54. English translations by Charles F. Lummis in *Land of Sunshine: The Magazine of California and the West*, XII, (December 1899 to August 1900), and Bolton, *Spanish Explorations*, 263-280.

in the province of Zuñi are deposits of silver of so fine a blue that they use it for paint and carry it to sell to the settlements of New Mexico. I brought some stones to show, and the painters told me it was the best blue in the world, and that in this city [Mexico City] each pound of it was worth twelve pesos and that there was not a pound [to be had].

Out of a confused notion of all these various accounts evolved the legend of Sierra Azul. Gran Quivira and Gran Teguayó date from the same period. All of these legends represented a region which continued to be half mythical and rarely frequented, and very little ever came of them, so they merely persisted in popular tradition to be believed or dismissed as one liked. Trade, stock raising, agriculture, the spreading of the faith, and the ever present Indian danger were the most immediate concern of New Mexicans.

The lack of knowledge of the geography of the region in question for so long a time was not for lack of enterprise. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all of Arizona north of the Gila was controlled by warlike Apaches. They had no fixed abodes then, and roamed through the whole wild chaos of mountains, excluding other tribes from the country by their incursions. The region was uninhabited except by the Apaches and their northern relatives, the present Navajos, when they swept through from time to time on hunting and predatory expeditions. The region around the mouth of the Colorado River was not really well explored until after Kino's time.¹⁰

From south and southwest, as the northern frontier of New Spain advanced, expansion stopped in Pimería Alta. Here was a mountain barrier infested with hostile Apaches. From the south Arizona was unvisited after 1540 until the

10. "For two centuries [after Coronado], though the narratives were extant and occasionally repeated with approximate accuracy, and though now and then an official report showed a fair knowledge of the facts in certain circles, no map within my knowledge—except Padre Kino's and a few others on the region of Pimería Alta up to the Gila—throws any light on the geography of Arizona and New Mexico, or makes any considerable approach to the general cartographic results that might have been reached by a fairly intelligent use of the Coronado narratives alone." (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 69).

advent of Father Kino, and after his death for more than twenty years no Spaniard is known to have entered Arizona from that direction. The approach to Arizona by way of New Mexico was the logical one. But here the settlers were practically confined to the valley of the upper Río Grande. They were hemmed in on the west by Apaches and Navajos. This small isolated colony, with a population of about 2,800 at the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680, constantly faced the Indian danger on the fringe of every settlement, and only held out as long as the pueblo Indians remained loyal. Naturally, the region west of Zuñi was not often frequented. Until well into the eighteenth century, then, all knowledge of central Arizona was confined to the reports of a handful of explorers, and this meager knowledge was directly available to only a very few. The general knowledge of the region was based on hearsay. The geography of Arizona was vague and muddled during all those years, and distance relationships remained confused and inaccurate.¹¹ Besides, Arizona with its colossal canyons, wierdly painted deserts, petrified forests, craters, and many other marvels of nature, was a wonderland hard to comprehend.

We first hear of Sierra Azul, as such, on the very limited evidence contained in a memorial of Domínguez de Mendoza, *maestre de campo* in Peñalosa's time, and an alleged member of the fictitious Peñalosa expedition to Gran Quivira in 1662. This memorial states that Peñalosa, governor and captain general of New Mexico from 1661 to

11. Alexander von Humboldt, writing of this region in the nineteenth century, (*Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, Paris, 1811-1812; English translation by John Black, London, 1814, I, v-vi), states: "In the part of New Spain situated to the north of the parallel of 24°, in the provinces called *Internas* (in New Mexico, in the government of Cohahuila, and in the intendancy of New Biscay) the geographer is reduced to form combinations from the journals of routes. The sea being at a great distance from the most inhabited part of these countries, he has no means to connect together places situated in the interior of a vast continent, with points on the coast a little better known. Hence, beyond the city of Durango, we wander as it were in a desert, notwithstanding the show of manuscript maps. There are not more resources to be found than Major Rennel possessed for drawing up maps of the interior of Africa."

1664, planned with some care an expedition to the "Serro del Azul, the ores of which have been assayed and are known to be rich in gold and silver," but that the expedition was never made due to Apache wars and other obstacles.¹²

Peñalosa himself may have invented the name for the alleged place. As for its location we are not told. It is merely listed in the same sentence with "el reyno de los Tejas," and "Gran Quivira," as a place Peñalosa had heard about from a Jemes Indian. Peñalosa visited the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui in 1662, and made at least one expedition into the country of the Coninas and Cruzados Indians west of Oraibe.¹³ If this evidence is at all trustworthy, for Peñalosa was a liar, it is quite probable, in view of the later history of Sierra Azul, that he had in mind the region between Zuñi and Moqui, or the region west of the Moqui villages. With knowledge of old or recent reports of gold to the west of his province, the sight of the strange and multi-colored peaks of the Painted Desert, or hearsay about that region, might easily have fired his imagination.

From the time of Peñalosa to the expulsion of the Spaniards from New Mexico in the bloody Indian revolt of 1680, Sierra Azul figures only vaguely. In 1678 Peñalosa, then in Paris, having been discharged by the Spanish government, offered the King of France to effect the conquest of Quivira and Teguayó, which he said were fabulously rich in precious metals, and with which he claimed to be familiar through expeditions made to those regions during his governorship of New Mexico. Probably he also featured the attractions of the Sierra Azul, but aside from the accompanying map which refers to Peñalosa, we have no information.

12. Cesareo Fernández Duro, *Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882), 49. Briefer mention in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 168, and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, 1911-14, 5v.), I, 347.

13. Charles W. Hackett, "New Light on Don Diego de Peñalosa: Proof that he never made an expedition from Santa Fe to Quivira and the Mississippi River in 1662," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, (December, 1919), 322-323, 332-333.

After 1680 New Mexico was unvisited, except for a few unsuccessful punitive expeditions, until the reconquest in the time of Vargas. In 1686 Governor Cruzate gathered evidence about some vermilion from an alleged quicksilver mine in the north, and on his entry into New Mexico in 1689 samples were brought back, but they showed no signs of quicksilver.¹⁴

At about this same time Father Alonso de Posadas, former custodio of the New Mexico missions, drew up for the King a report concerning New Mexico in which he wrote of "Sierra Azul . . . so famed for its wealth, because its ores have been assayed many times, but never possessed because of our negligence and timidity." According to Posadas, Sierra Azul lay one hundred leagues southwest of Santa Fé, and fifty leagues north of Sonora. He also speaks of another place, on the Colorado River, where it was said that there were metals containing quicksilver.¹⁵

In 1689, the legend appeared in its most exaggerated form. A certain Toribio de Huerta laid a memorial before King Charles II, in which he volunteered at his own expense to restore New Mexico to its former allegiance if his Majesty would grant him in return a marquisate over the land from El Paso to Taos, and temporary authority in Sinaloa and Sonora. He claimed to be one of the first conquerors of New Mexico, Sinaloa and Sonora, and the discoverer of the kingdom of Gran Quivira, which he said was composed of four kings and an emperor. He added that he had served the Spanish king for forty years in these parts, during which more than thirty towns and mining camps had been

14. Domingo Jironza Petríz de Cruzate to the viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Galve, Mexico City, December 1, 1691. (General Archive of the Nation, Mexico City, *Historia*, tomo 37, hereinafter referred to by A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37. See appendix).

15. Alonso de Posadas, *Informe a S. M. sobre las tierras de Nuevo Mejico, Quivira y Teguayo* (c. 1686), in *Doc. Hist. Mex., op. cit.*, 220, 221, 224. This report was made in reply to a royal order of 1678 which alluded to projects of exploring Quivira and Teguayó, and to conflicting reports on geography and the wealth of these and other distant regions, calling for an investigation. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 166).

settled, and many churches and convents built, in all of which he was one of the principal leaders.¹⁶

Huerta's interest was clearly stated in the memorial. His chief aim was the saving of apostate souls, but between Zuñi and Moqui was located "a place called Sierra Azul, more than two hundred leagues long and full of silver." Nearby was "another mine of quicksilver," "the Cerro Colorado, by which the entire realm and the rest of the provinces and kingdoms discovered might be supplied."¹⁷ This was obviously a fabricated version of Peñalosa's account, plus the older tradition of rich mines west of Zuñi. The new element which now entered the story, namely, quicksilver, was based on reported vermilion mines near Zuñi, and cinabar mines west of Moqui. This carried special significance, for at this time a cheaper source of quicksilver was greatly in demand.

This story struck the fancy of the king and his counselors. Huerta's honesty was not questioned, and his proposal was accepted by royal cédula on September 13, 1689.¹⁸ Galve, viceroy of New Spain, was ordered by the king to make an investigation into the alleged existence of these rich mines, particularly those said to contain quicksilver, and to render every possible aid in the matter. The royal decree advised that, without bringing about the subjection of New Mexico first, it was vain to discuss the advantages which might accrue from developing the quicksilver mines which Huerta declared that he had discovered between Zuñi and Moqui.¹⁹ Huerta said that he would take with him on the expedition 500 infantry men, 1,000 horses, 2,000 cattle, and 6,000

16. Copy of the petition made by Don Toribio de Huerta, filed in the secretarial office of the Council of the Indies; royal decree to the Count of Galve, Madrid, September 13, 1689. (Both in A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37; excerpts in P. Otto Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo Mexico, Documentos del archivo general de Indias (Sevilla) publicadas por primera vez y anotadas* (Madrid, 1929), 142-145).

17. *Ibid.* In the later records the place of the quicksilver mines is usually referred to as Cerro Colorado, whereas Sierra Azul refers either to the gold and silver mines alone, or to the whole range of mountains including the quicksilver deposits.

18. Royal decree to the Count of Galve, Madrid, September 13, 1689, *op. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*

sheep.²⁰ Yet the royal cédula ordered that 200 pesos be given to him by the Treasury of the Council of the Indies, and 400 pesos by the royal treasury of Vera Cruz, in order to help him, "since he is now short of funds."²¹ This pretentious expedition did not materialize. As a result, the authorities in Mexico City became skeptical, interest waned, and the project was shelved—but not forgotten.

The quicksilver part of the story was well known among the fugitives from New Mexico, most of whom were now living in the El Paso district, others scattered throughout New Spain as far south as Mexico City itself. They told of a fine red pigment obtained by traders, Indians and Spaniards, at Oraibe, the farthest of the Moqui villages, and traded throughout New Mexico as paint and for medicinal purposes. It was believed by many to contain quicksilver, and was said by Indians to come from a mountain west of a "large river" some twelve leagues west of Oraibe,²² evidently the Little Colorado River. As this more definite information drifted into Mexico City and into government circles, apparently from trustworthy sources, there was revived interest in the forgotten Huerta project. The new data definitely substantiated a part of Huerta's account, and in so doing lent more authority to the whole. In Mexico City the authorities became interested, Huerta's documents were carefully re-examined, and new evidence was sought. In the spring of 1691 the viceroy sent a dispatch with instructions to Vargas, the newly appointed governor at El Paso, ordering a careful investigation into the matter.²³ The right to make an expedition to Sierra Azul was still Huerta's by royal decree, but this was ignored as he was now in Spain without funds.²⁴

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. See below.

23. The Count of Galve to Diego de Vargas, Mexico City, May 27, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

24. The royal fiscal, Benito de Noboa Salgado, to the Count of Galve, Mexico City, November 24, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

It was not Sierra Azul, but rather the contiguous quicksilver mines, now so inextricably bound up with the Sierra Azul legend, which now attracted the attention of the authorities. During these years the quicksilver question was always an important one. Conditions in Europe made commerce on the sea precarious, yet Mexican silver mines, to be worked, were dependent upon the quicksilver supply from Spain, Carinthia, and Perú. It was being obtained at great cost and tremendous risk. A supply near at hand, without entailing the dangers of sea transportation, would be an invaluable acquisition. Now at last there was an all-important reason for reconquering New Mexico to be added to the ever present and valid desire to save apostate souls, and a real leader had just taken command at El Paso.

Don Diego de Vargas took possession of the government at El Paso on February 22, 1691.²⁵ For various reasons he showed unusual energy and decision of character in formulating plans. As in the case of his predecessors he had been selected as governor and captain general with special reference to the reconquest of the lost province. He had recognized qualities of leadership,²⁶ and was a man of great wealth. Vargas was also young and ambitious, and visions of glory and wealth to be gained in the north flitted before him. He hoped that should he succeed in recapturing the lost province, where so many others had failed, such a feat would merit royal favor and justify asking for recognition in the form of new titles and higher appointment.²⁷ These ideas occupied his mind. Full of enthusiasm he planned to reconquer New Mexico immediately and at his own expense. At the outset he asked only that besides the

25. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 19, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37, and published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 122-123).

26. "Restauración del Nuevo Mexico por Don Diego de Vargas Zapata," ascribed to a religious of the province of the Santo Evangelio. A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 2. See also Irving S. Leonard, *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (Quivira Society Publications, Los Angeles, 1932), 31.

27. Diego de Vargas to the king, Zacatecas, May 16, 1693. (A. G. I., Sevilla, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo no. 139).

soldiers stationed at the presidio at El Paso, he be aided with an additional contingent of fifty more soldiers in order that El Paso might not be left defenseless. His great wealth warranted his enthusiastic offer.

Vargas was apparently ignorant of the fact that the two thousand inhabitants of the El Paso settlements were fighting against starvation and costly Indian raids, and were in no condition to extend the existing frontier of settlement at this time. His first act, then, on his arrival at El Paso, was to muster the available forces in the district. An official was sent about proclaiming the governor's plans, and at the beat of the war drum people rallied to the squares, and estimates were made of their military strength. Vargas was soon disappointed to find that most of the soldiers of the presidio were without even swords or leather jackets. There were only one hundred and thirty-two horses, and the soldiers and settlers of El Paso and the four pueblos and missions could not gather two hundred horses and mules among them. There were about twenty-five mules in the district. There were barely a thousand christianized Indians counting both men and women. It is doubtful if Vargas could have mustered together three hundred armed men including Indian allies.²⁸ The other obstacles already alluded to soon presented themselves, and for almost a year and a half internal problems rendered useless any attempt to extend the existing frontier of settlement. Vargas' plan to reconquer New Mexico without delay was quickly shattered.

Outside of a few forays against the Apaches,²⁹ whose raids were continuous, the economic problem occupied the new governor during his first six months at El Paso. The river was swollen by snows melting down from the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, causing it to shift its course from the main irrigation ditch. For two months he assisted in the repair of the ditches for irrigating the fields.

28. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 19, 1691, *op. cit.*

29. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, March 30, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

These ditches were essential to save the little wheat and corn which could be raised in May and June. Food was scarce. There was such a lack of supplies that unless flour were obtained from Parral the people would be obliged to live on tortillas made from the little corn that remained until the next harvest. There were no cattle, and the 600 sheep in the vicinity were mostly scattered about in various missions and custodias.³⁰

Vargas made every attempt to obtain horses and mules as well as cattle. One hundred fanegas of wheat were being cultivated. It was hoped that after the planting season, in the middle of October, the Indians and other residents might gather their crops and leave for the villa of Santa Fé. This would be the most severe time of the year. The Indians would be in their houses due to the cold weather, and not scattered in the fields and on the chase. It would be easier to deal with them under such conditions.³¹ But if Vargas were to change camps before the crops were gathered El Paso would be left helpless, as it was the most northern outpost, was surrounded by hostile Indians, and did not have the protection of New Vizcaya and its many presidios. So he merely made the plea that were the presidio of El Paso to be transferred to Santa Fé, fifty more soldiers would naturally be needed to take their place. No aid was asked from other presidios, nor financial support from the viceroy. He only asked for the obvious. Otherwise El Paso, unprotected during the absence of its garrison, would be inviting destruction.

Next to the question of food supplies, the Indian problem was Vargas' greatest concern. In the vicinity of El Paso the Sumas, the ranchería of Mansos under their captain who was called "El Chiquito," and the Apaches of the Sierra de Gila were the greatest trouble makers. Horse stealing and cattle rustling were their great pastime. All

30. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 19, 1691, *op. cit.*

31. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, June 20, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

were in communication with the Mansos, who had left when the presidio was established at El Paso in 1683, but who had since been converted through the efforts of the custodio, Father Francisco de Vargas, and settled near the church of San Francisco de los Mansos, eight or nine leagues from El Paso. The Apaches often visited them in groups of two, four, and six, and it was quite customary for them to intermarry, as was also the case with the Sumas.³² The Sumas of Guadalupe and Ojito were the scourge of the entire region.³³ These three Indian nations were a constant danger to the El Paso settlements.

The government of New Spain was at this time interested in more immediate frontier problems. Before attempting to extend the northern frontier the existing one must be made safe. The Treasury Committee (Junta de Hacienda) in Mexico City politely answered Governor Vargas that the time was not propitious for the reconquest of Santa Fé.³⁴ The problem which was confronting the government was the war against Indian conspiracies in New Vizcaya and Sinaloa. Soon Vargas himself was to be drawn into that war, delaying the entry for a whole year. In the minds of those who were directing things at the capital the reconquest of New Mexico was important, to be sure, but it was merely a part of a larger program involving the whole northern frontier. When other more immediate obstacles were overcome attention would be turned to the phase in which Vargas was interested. But Vargas had been appointed especially to reconquer Santa Fé and that idea was foremost in his mind. It was natural that he failed to see the frontier problem in its broader aspect.

The Indian wars in New Vizcaya, Sonora and Sinaloa were not unknown at El Paso. During his first days there Vargas had received letters from the missionaries at Chín-

32. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, August 14, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37. Partially published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 130-133).

33. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, March 30, 1692, *op. cit.*

34. Report of the Treasury Committee, Mexico City, August 3, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

apa asking for help to pacify the hostile Jocomes, Janos and Sumas in Sonora and Sinaloa. The Seris, Cocomataques, Sobas, and Pimas had already been pacified. The demands were small. Fathers Marcos de Loyola and Juan María de Salvatierra had been working among the Indians at Chínapa for seven years. Father Marcos de Loyola was now asking the governor of New Mexico for one or two Manso Indians from El Paso.³⁵ These had authority over the Janos and Jocomes. Two Spanish-speaking Mansos might be used to advantage on embassies of peace to negotiate with the enemy.³⁶ On March 20, six Mansos with provisions and beasts of burden were on their way to Chínapa.³⁷

On April 16, 1691, Juan Fernández de la Fuente, captain of the presidio at Janos, notified Governor Vargas of the arrival of the six Mansos. With their assistance it was discovered that the Apaches of the Sierra de Gila, confederates of the Janos, Jocomes, Pimas, Sobas, and Sumas, were the trouble makers. It was they who in the last two weeks had carried off at least one hundred beasts. Only a month before they had taken part in an ambush attack upon the pueblo of Bacuachito,³⁸ in the jurisdiction of Father Marcos de Loyola. Here sixteen persons were killed, eleven were carried off as prisoners, and the priest's house set fire to and demolished. Drastic action was necessary. A relentless offensive war carried into the heart of the enemy territory appeared to be the only solution. "La guerra dura hace la paz segura," wrote Fernández. But the Mansos were unable to negotiate with the uncompromising Apaches, and the plan to use them as mediators was abandoned.³⁹

35. The Manso Indians lived in the region around El Paso. They had been pacified in the middle seventeenth century, and although frequently identified with Apache disturbances throughout the rest of the century, they lived in relative peace with their Spanish neighbors.

36. Father Marcos de Loyola's letter was written February 6, the other February 8. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

37. Diego de Vargas's journal, El Paso, March 20, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

38. Also written Bacuechit, Aquache.

39. Juan Fernandez de la Fuente to Diego de Vargas, Janos, April 16, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37, and published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 126-128. Most of the correspondence of importance on this question was published in Maas, 123-133).

Fernández now proposed to Governor Vargas a union of the forces of Sonora, Sinaloa, and El Paso, in order to enter the Sierra de Gila and crush the Apaches in a decisive battle. At the same time Fernández wrote a similar letter directly to the viceroy. Vargas balked at such a plan. He not only lacked horses and provisions, but was surrounded by enemies himself. Besides it would delay his expedition into New Mexico. The Sierra de Gila was seventy leagues from El Paso, and thirty leagues off the road to Santa Fé.⁴⁰

At this time, like a thunderbolt out of the sky, a courier arrived at El Paso with the letter from the viceroy in Mexico City.⁴¹ It read as follows:

Señor don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján:

From the accounts of persons who have lived there, I am told that in the revolted province of New Mexico is located the province of Moqui, and that at a distance of twelve leagues from there, toward the *río grande*, there is a range of mountains, one of the most prominent in those parts, in which is found a metallic substance or earth containing vermilion. This is used by the Indians to paint themselves with, and by all the people, especially the Spanish women, to preserve the complexion. It is also used by those suffering from smallpox in order to cover their scars.

It is said that this metal is heavier than lead, and so liquid and greasy that it goes through the leather pack saddles and the back cloths of the pack animals on which it is carried, and that when handled it leaves red and white stains, with the result that it has been commonly held to be quicksilver. It is well known by fact and by tradition that there is such an abundance of this mineral in that range of mountains that it is found in liquid form in small lakes

40. Diego de Vargas to Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, El Paso, April 29, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

41. The Count of Galve to Diego de Vargas, Mexico City, May 27, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37, and published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 133-134). The famous quicksilver mine of Huancavelica (Monte Nieto), in Perú, was found by the Spaniards under just such circumstances. When Spaniards began work there, there was already a large hole dug out by the Incas to get out *limpe* or vermilion, which the Indians used for paint. (Pedro Aguado y Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*, Madrid, 1929, 2v., II, 226). For a careful study of the different minerals used by the Hopi for painting, their source, content, etc., see Esther M. Munson, *Aboriginal Economic Geography of the Hopi* (M.A. thesis, University of California, 1933), 95-106.

and pools. If it is possible to ascertain the truth of these reports without too much trouble, cost or risk, this question should not be taken lightly, but seriously looked into, if sufficient testimony warrants it, for these quicksilver deposits would greatly help the common cause of the entire kingdom, and the extension of the royal service and the royal power.

For these reasons, I have deemed it well to impart to you this knowledge, that you may obtain more definite information from the oldest, most respectable, and most intelligent persons in your government, and that you may find out about the problems, difficulties and costs which would be involved in an expedition to the above mentioned mountain range, as well as the length of the range and the ways of getting to it. Also that you may obtain definite information as to the composition of those metals, and find out if anyone has actually extracted quicksilver from them. As I understand it, some mine operators have done this, and have used quicksilver in working the silver mines of the country.

In gathering this information always seek clarity and the greatest detail. Father José de Spínola can help you in examining the above mentioned metallic substance. He is a Peruvian creole and is said to be an authority on such matters. Notify me of all that may come of this, and be made known to you, in order that from what is contained in your *autos* and *diligencias*, I may pursue that policy which will redound to the greatest service of the kingdom.

May God spare you many years. Mexico, May 27, 1691.

THE COUNT OF GÁLVE
(rubric)

The revival of interest in Sierra Azul could not have occurred at a more opportune time. Vargas immediately took advantage of this unforeseen enthusiasm at the capital to further his own plans. A fruitful investigation into the matter, if done immediately, might cause the viceroy to refuse to listen to Fuente at this time. He might not have to go to the aid of Fuente after all, and the entry into New Mexico would not be delayed. Vargas received the letter on August first, and in compliance with the viceregal orders he immediately carried out his instructions. The investigation

lasted from the third to the twelfth of August.⁴² For almost two weeks Vargas was seen traveling about the El Paso district searching for information. The story was well known among the older people in the colony, and many interesting accounts were gathered.

Father José de Spínola was found at the convent of San Lorenzo, the *real* of San Lorenzo, two leagues from El Paso. He said that he had heard of the metallic liquid mentioned in the viceroy's letter from various sources, and that if the description were true it was undoubtedly quicksilver. Some eleven years before, at a chance gathering at which Fathers Francisco de Vargas and Juan Muñoz de Castro were also present, he heard the story of the pool of quicksilver from Father Nicolás de Echevarría, to whom, when living in the province of Moqui, where he lived for many years, one day an Indian told the following story:

Having gone hunting into the region and mountain referred to by the viceroy, he came upon a pool at the foot of a cliff, and on dipping his hands into it, thinking it was a pool of drinking water, the liquid rolled from his hands. The Indian observed that the supposed water not only slipped from his hands as though it were alive, but was thick, like corn-flour gruel. For this reason Father Echevarría believed the substance to be quicksilver.

Vargas returned to El Paso to question Father Vargas, the ecclesiastical judge and custodian of the New Mexico missions. Father Vargas had seen the earth or metal spoken of by the viceroy, at the pueblo of Sia, and said that it was liquid and greasy, as the viceroy described it, and left a blue or bluish lustre when handled. His curiosity aroused, he had asked the Indians where they obtained it, and they said that they brought it from Zuñi and Moqui. He had heard some persons say that it contained quicksilver.

42. The statements of three missionary fathers and nine other individuals familiar with the region were recorded in Vargas' journal, El Paso, August 3 to 12, 1691 (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37. The statements of three of the informants; namely Father José de Spínola, Father Francisco de Vargas, and Captain Antonio Jorge were published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 134-139).

Father Vargas' version of the story about the pool of quicksilver differed only in the description of the pool, and uncertainty as to whether the place referred to was near Picurís or Moqui. According to him the pool was found at the foot of some mountains, at a place where the supposed water was dripping down the edge of a cliff into a hollow, basin-like rock.

On the following day, August 4, Vargas questioned Father Muñoz de Castro at Isleta. He said that the gathering at which Father Echevarría told his story took place at El Paso in 1680. His version was as follows:

In the province of Moqui such pure quicksilver was to be found that, in the hollow of a certain rock or cave, there was a pool in which it was found in liquid form. It dripped down into the pool from the surrounding rocks, which were all of this metallic substance, extremely heavy, and the color of red hematite. Father Muñoz de Castro further added that the liquid was so greasy that it stuck to one's hands, and stained the clothing and saddle bags in which it was gathered.

On August 8, Vargas called before him Sergeant Major Juan Lucero de Godoy, and a certain Antonio de Cisneros. Lucero confirmed all of the statements in the viceroy's letter with the exception of the two about the existence of small lakes or pools of quicksilver. He knew no one ever to have worked the mines, which he said were located in a high mountain in a range east of a large river, and close by that river, some twelve leagues west of Oraibe, the farthest of the Moqui villages. Antonio de Cisneros told him that the Indians of the province of Moqui said that it took them from morning till noon to climb to the mines, the descent being made the same evening. He had heard many times in New Mexico that the vermilion referred to was a metal rich in quicksilver, and his uncle, who lived in the City of Mexico, often asked his father for some of this red earth for use in painting. Lucero described the road to the mine as rough and stony, and as passing through the lands of the hostile

Apaches. It would be a protracted and difficult journey, and would require at least 150 Spaniards and an equal number of Indian soldiery. He gave elaborate figures on the cost of such an expedition, and the supplies necessary, as did the other military men later questioned.

Antonio de Cisnesos was born in the village of Zuñi, and spent much of his youth there. Here it was that he learned from the Indians how and where they obtained this red ochre or cinnabar called *almagre*.⁴³ They said that they dug it from a mountain west of Moqui, he did not know how many leagues, in a region infested with Apaches and other hostile and rebellious Indians, and that it took half a day to climb to the mine and half a day to descend. They told him that the mountain was very large, and that they had dug out a cave from which they took it. They used this earth to paint themselves with, and he had also observed that it was used by the women, Spanish as well as Indian, for this purpose. He had seen some of this earth, and it had all the qualities as described by the viceroy; it was heavy, liquid, greasy, and left a scarlet stain. The Indians traded it throughout New Mexico, and it soaked through the buckskin bags in which they carried it. He did not know whether or not it contained quicksilver.

On August 9, Vargas questioned Sergeant Major Bartolomé Gomez Robledo, and Captains Juan Luís Luján, José Tellez Jirón, and Fernando Durán y Chávez. Robledo said that on many occasions he had seen and held in his hands this earth called *almagre* all over New Mexico by Spaniards and Indians alike. It was liquid, greasy, and unusually

43. *Almagre* is merely red ochre, an earthy iron oxide, usually red (hematite) or yellow (limonite), plentiful in northwestern New Mexico and the Hopi country. Vermilion, on the other hand, is powdered cinnabar, red or scarlet in color, and contains quicksilver. Cinnabar is the only important ore of mercury, and is found at all quicksilver mines. There are numerous quicksilver deposits in Arizona; the principal ones are located in Yavapai, Maricopa, and Yuma counties. (See Carl Lausen and E. D. Gardner, *Quicksilver (Mercury) Resources of Arizona*, Arizona Bureau of Mines, Bulletin No. 122 (Tucson, 1927). In the seventeenth century the terms vermilion and cinnabar were used synonymously. In the above records *almagre* and vermilion are used interchangeably, thus the term *almagre* as used in these records has a broader meaning, and applies to all of these different ores.

heavy, and when handled it left stains which even hot water could not remove for several weeks. It was used in the snowing season as a remedy for eye trouble, by smearing it on. In the time of General Luís de Guzmán his father went as visitador to the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, and brought back some small pack saddles full of this earth. Each pack saddle was so heavy that he could hardly lift it, and the red earth soaked clear through everything—pack saddle and back cloths, and even left stains on the back of the he-mule on which it was carried which were not completely removed until the rainy season.

Robledo also spoke of a certain Jacinto Muñoz de Moraga, who went to Sonora from New Mexico in the time of Governor Otermín, who always pointed out that the people of New Mexico did not have to search for silver mines, but merely should make use of the quicksilver mines from which this red earth was obtained. This same informant, Robledo, had a cousin named Bartolomé Romero, killed by Indians at Taos at the time of the Pueblo Revolt, who had an encomienda in the vicinity of Oraibe, to which he journeyed each year to collect what was due. Romero said that he had been to the mountain where the mine was located, had seen the mine, and had brought *almagre* from it. He said that the mine had not been greatly worked, the Indians having merely dug out a cave-like pit. The Indians said that it was located in such a dry region that they had to take their drinking water with them in gourds whenever they went there.

Robledo believed that the place was some fourteen or fifteen leagues from Oraibe, in the direction of the Western Sea. The place could be reached most easily by way of El Paso directly to Ácoma and Zuñi, without going to Santa Fé, a distance of some one hundred and seventy-five leagues, or a five days journey with pack animals. He described the road as passable, with a few water holes, and plenty of wood and pasture land, and the region of the mine the battling ground of hostile Indians, and surrounded by Apaches.

One hundred armed men, and from six to eight hundred Indians, with the necessary equipment, including mules and horses, would be necessary. The expedition, including a complete reconnaissance of the region, would take about eight months.

Captain Luján was as well acquainted with this *almagre* as Robledo. He had handled it, and he described it in the same manner. He was with his friend the Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, the father of Sergeant Major Robledo, when the latter went as visitador to Moqui, and he repeated the story told by the younger Robledo. He did not see the mine, but his friend the visitador did. It was located in a round mountain surrounded by vast plains, a day's journey west of Moqui. And when it rained more than three arquebus shots round about it became entirely red with water from the *almagre*, from which it was believed that the mine was plenteous. The region was described as all hostile territory, occupied either by Apaches or Coninas. His description of the road, and his estimate of the equipment necessary were virtually the same as Robledo's, with the exception that he believed that one hundred armed soldiers and only one hundred Indian allies would be sufficient, and that the entire expedition should not take more than five months. He knew nothing of the existence of pools of quicksilver.

Captain Téllez Jirón had also been in the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, and once had brought back a pack animal loaded with *almagre*. It was very heavy, and he noticed that it soaked the saddle bags, and stained everything including the back of the pack animal itself. He said that there were two kinds of vermilion with which the Indians painted themselves, one yellow, from the province of Zuñi, and the other red. He had heard that the vermilion mine mentioned was located twelve leagues west of the province of Moqui, in the lands of the hostile Apaches and Navajos. The distance from El Paso to Oraibe was over two hundred leagues, and on the way pasture land, wood, and water were

not lacking. He had heard of the location of the mine from men who had been there in the years 1648 to 1650. To make the entry seventy soldiers, well armed and with horses, and three or four hundred Indian allies, would be necessary, and the expedition would take five or six months. He suggested that Sergeant Major Juan Lucero be called, for the latter had often made the journey and brought back samples of this red earth to his father. Lucero had been questioned the day before."

Captain Durán y Chávez had seen the ore under discussion, and repeated that it was well known in New Mexico, although he did not know where the mine was located, other than that it was brought from Moqui. He described this red earth as being liquid, greasy, and so heavy that a man could scarcely lift a tierce. He said that he knew that this *almagre* contained quicksilver, because his grandmother once told him that a certain Father Jerónimo de Pedraza, who knew much about medicine, and was a good doctor, mixed it in ointments that required it. And that when she asked him why he put in this *almagre*, the religious answered that he did so because it contained very fine quicksilver. He also knew Father Echevarría's story but confused Moqui and Picurís, using both interchangeably. He believed that one hundred and fifty armed men and three hundred Indian allies, with the necessary equipment, including horses and mules, and three hundred head of cattle besides the other food supplies, would be necessary, and that the expedition would take about six months, including a stay and the return.

On August 11, Captains Roque Madrid and Juan de Dios Lucero de Godoy were questioned. Captain Roque Madrid had seen this red earth, called *almagre* in New Mexico, and said that it had all of the characteristics described by his Excellency. From what both Spaniards and natives of the pueblo of Oraibe often told him, the lode from which

44. Vargas' journal, El Paso, August 8 and 11, 1691, in A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37.

this earth was obtained was at the top of a large rock twelve or fourteen leagues west of Moqui. This large rock was on the west side of a large river, and the waters of this river continually beat against it in its course. He once brought specimens of this earth on a pack animal from Oraibe in a large buckskin bag, and this inside a cowhide, yet it soaked through these and the pack saddle as well. He said that it was used in Santa Fé for various purposes.

He had travelled over the road from Isleta to Moqui, and was of the opinion that Oraibe was from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and eighty leagues from El Paso. Pasture land and wood were plentiful, but water was scarce, and the region was infested with hostile Apaches. He believed that one hundred and fifty to two hundred Spaniards and at least one hundred Indian warriors would be needed to carry out the expedition, which if carefully carried out would take five to six months.

Captain Juan de Dios Lucero de Godoy had spent six months in Oraibe. There he had obtained some of this *almagre*, as it was called by the Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico. His description of its qualities was essentially the same as that of Captain Roque Madrid. From his uncles Francisco Gómez and Bartolomé Romero, and from Indians, he had heard that the *almagre* was obtained from a mountain, along the base of which ran a river, located in a region a day's journey west of Oraibe. These Indians also said that two days' journey from there, there was another river which was very large, and which the Moqui Indians did not cross because of its great size and because they could not swim.

He suggested the same route as that suggested by Captain Roque Madrid: namely, El Paso to Isleta, and from there to Oraibe. His description of the region to the west and its native inhabitants was also practically the same, with the additional comment that there was one bad stretch which was quite rocky, and so rough that it bruised and pared off the horses' hooves. He estimated that one hundred soldiers and two hundred Indians, with horses and

pack mules, and the necessary provisions for at least a four months' journey would be necessary.

Captain Antonio Jorge had also once resided in the provinces of Zuñi and Moqui, having lived at the Moqui pueblo of Oraibe, and at Alona, in Zuñi, as assistant alcalde mayor to his father, of the same name, who was three times alcalde mayor in these provinces in the time of governors Don Fernando de Villanueva, Don Juan de Miranda, and Don Juan de Medrano. He said that according to the Indians this *almagre* was obtained from a mine in a mountain a six days' journey west of Oraibe. The qualities of this earth he described as did the others, and he said that it was bartered by the Indians, who brought it to the markets at Taos and Pecos, and other villages of the custodia. He knew nothing of the alleged pools of quicksilver. He estimated that one hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers and one hundred Indian allies, with the necessary equipment—substantially the same as enumerated by Captain Roque Madrid, would be necessary, and the journey to the land of the Coninas, where the mine was located, would take four months and a half.

Information was received before witnesses from twelve former residents of New Mexico, three religious and nine well-known lay residents. This was considered sufficient. Eleven verified the statement that the red earth mentioned by the viceroy was from the province of Moqui. Five said that the mine was between twelve and fifteen leagues west of Oraibe, two others said that was a day's journey, and one other a six days' journey west of Oraibe. Five verified the "large river" of the viceroy's letter as between twelve and fifteen leagues west of Oraibe, one referring to it by name as the Coninas River. Four knew the story of the alleged pools of quicksilver, and apparently believed in it, and an equal number believed that this red earth or *almagre* contained quicksilver.⁴⁵ All described the *almagre* as heavy,

45. Native quicksilver, or mercury, occurs in small fluid globules in gangue rock cavities, and has been found in the Dome Rock Mountains and the southwestern part of the Plomosa Mountains in Yuma County, Arizona. (See Howland Bancroft, "Reconnaissance of the Ore Deposits in Northern Yuma County, Arizona," in U. S. Geological Survey, *Bulletin* 451 (Washington, 1911).)

liquid, greasy, and leaving a scarlet lustre when handled, which combined with the other information led Vargas to believe that it contained quicksilver.

But again a fly in the ointment. On August 14, 1691, before he had time to answer the viceroy's letter, Vargas was notified that the proposal of Captain Fernández of the presidio of Janos had been accepted.⁴⁶ The problems of the northern frontier were to be solved through co-operation. Vargas was to go to the aid of Fernández. When the Janos, Sumas, hostile Pímas, and other hostile Indians on the frontier of Sonora were pacified, then Sonora and Sinoloa would go to the aid of the governor at El Paso that he in turn might finish his war, which would be effected by the former inhabitants of New Mexico reoccupying their haciendas in and around Santa Fé.⁴⁷

Vargas was greatly disappointed. His latest plan had been to make the entry in October.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, on August 26 the results of the Sierra Azul investigation were sent post haste to the viceroy. After stating that the investigation confirmed everything contained in the viceroy's letter of May 27, Vargas wrote:

Two things must be accomplished, first, the reduction of the apostate peoples who are allied in said province, and secondly, to find out about this mine, and if it exists to send your Excellency one or two loads of said metal in order that it be carefully assayed. It would seem that in order not to lose any of it, and that its full value content be examined, and be prevented from soaking into the bags and passing through the pack saddles and back cloths, since the quicksilver is so liquid, it could be put into some strong tin flasks . . .

I had had plenty of experience in metallurgical matters, and I assure you that it will give me great joy if your Excellency has the good fortune of finding this mine, for which purpose you may examine the statements gathered in

46. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, August 14, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

47. Report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, July, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

48. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, August 14, 1691, *op. cit.*

your Excellency's service. With no other objective than that it be obtained promptly, I will expose myself to danger by going with the people that your Excellency wills to designate to augment this company of fifty men.

Your Excellency may be confident that I will do all in my power to discover the mine, making inquiries of the Indians, winning them over, regaling them, and doing everything possible. I will take great pride in performing this service for his Majesty as the instrument of your Excellency, who is the moving force. And if it should be God's will to give me luck in finding this hidden treasure, it would be due to your Excellency alone that such a benefit be made known to all this new world. It will bring enormous additions to the royal fifth in profits from metals, for although these may be great, fine silver ores are not discovered and worked for lack of quicksilver. . .

I leave to your Greatness' judgment and decision the arrangement of the measures you decide to apply, and then I will return them to you without accepting for my camp the crust of a single broken biscuit. For I shall take necessary and sufficient provisions not only for myself and my family, but also for the army, and the religious who go as chaplains, and as apostolic missionaries to convert the Indians, and with the authority of your support to better accredit and assure his Majesty's intentions in the pardon which he offers them, and his desire that they return to the yoke of our Holy Faith."

Meanwhile, at El Paso, the governor of New Mexico complained vigorously. If he were to send aid to Captain Fernández his own kingdom would be at stake for lack of protection. El Paso was not only the bulwark of New Mexico, it was also the safeguard of the frontier settlements of New Vizcaya. Letters were sent to the governor of New Vizcaya and to Fernández declaring the impossibility of his aiding in any such project. Then came the orders from the viceroy and Vargas had to submit. Still saturated with visions of wealth in Sierra Azul and renown in the reconquest of Santa Fé, but complying with the orders of his

49. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, August 26, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

superior, he resigned himself. A hasty note was written to Fernández which read:

His Excellency orders that I suspend my entry into New Mexico in order that aid be given where it is more necessary. I will be ready on October tenth. Advise me where you wish me to join you that we may attack at the most strategic point.⁵⁰

A month later Vargas wrote in a longer letter to the viceroy:

Every governor should be able to govern his own lands, and an inferior, as is Captain Fuente, subject to his governor, should not be permitted to make decisions. His Majesty has placed a governor in Sinaloa for that purpose. . . . Solely with the desire to serve God and his Royal Majesty, and without bothering anyone else, I desire to win back to the faith the natives of Santa Fé. They are of greater consequence, since they have been left unpunished and, as apostates, continue to live in sin. It grieves me to learn that a fantastic project has upset my plans. . . In blind obedience, however, I shall carry out your orders. . . . I will go myself at the head of my company with one hundred Indians.⁵¹

Vargas was restless. On this same day he wrote another rambling and incoherent letter to the viceroy in which he told of one Diego de Hinojos, who had been at the quicksilver mine in Sierra Azul, and another interesting tale told to a certain Don Fernando de Chávez by his grandfather. Hinojos said that the mine was fifteen leagues west of Oraibe on the west side of a large river, thus substantiating previous evidence. According to Chávez, at one time while a grave was being dug for a burial near Santa Fé a large quantity of quicksilver was unearthed. So much was found that an investigation was made, and it was found that in an adjoining grave was buried a prominent woman of the villa who had so much of this red earth on her face and

50. Diego de Vargas to Fernández de la Fuente, El Paso, September 9, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

51. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, October 4, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

body that the quicksilver or greasy matter contained in it had leaked out into the pit where it was found. And in case the viceroy might suddenly change his mind, and order an entry into New Mexico, Vargas added:

I repeat, your Excellency, that I shall take the risk at any cost to find the said mine, and dispose of the apprehension about these stories, all of which appear so wonderful.⁵²

By the end of November, 1691, the Indian wars in Sonora and Sinaloa had quieted down. The government of New Spain was now willing to focus its attention upon the reconquest of New Mexico. Official preparations were definitely under way. The viceroy was still undecided as to whether it would be practical to send an expedition to the Sierra Azul before reconquering Santa Fé. On November 22, the royal fiscal was ordered to make a careful investigation of the evidence at hand.⁵³ The Huerta documents and Vargas' reports were re-examined. The latter, which were the most recent, attested to the existence of quicksilver in the Cerro Colorado, and there were also reports that there was gold in nearby Sierra Azul. The royal fiscal showed coolness in the whole matter. Although since early times many sacks of this red earth in question had been brought to New Mexico, and many spoke of its advantages, no one had yet assured by experiment that it was quicksilver. Everything remained conjecture. It would be a great price for the discovery of an error, and even were the stories true it would be necessary to double expenses to repopulate and defend a new mining area. He advised that Santa Fé be re-occupied first; from there as a base Sierra Azul and Cerro Colorado could easily be reconnoitered.⁵⁴

A correspondence in this regard was carried on with several of the former governors of New Mexico residing in

52. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, October 4, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

53. Viceregal decree, the Count of Galve to the royal fiscal, Mexico City, November 22, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

54. Report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, November 24, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

the City of Mexico. Cruzate said that he had once made a careful investigation of the whole matter, and had sent his findings to the viceroy in a report of May 12, 1686, accompanied with maps. Later, in August of 1689, when he made an entry into New Mexico, he made it a point to bring back some of this vermilion earth. It was assayed by a competent assayer, and nothing was found that could be regarded in any way as quicksilver, "unless he might have lacked, as essential for the extraction, some indispensable and necessary ingredient that was not at hand."⁵⁵

Otermín argued in favor of an expedition into the Moqui region before attempting to regain Santa Fé. He said that all of the Spanish conquerors since Cortés had made their conquests incidental to their principal purpose, the search for gold and silver. Besides, he added, those who were driven out of New Mexico were not anxious to return to the struggles and difficulties of 1680. He proposed an entry into the Moqui country in search of the mines. If successful the conquest of the Indians would be easy, for the rapid settlement of the mining region would follow. He fortified his argument by stating that Sergeant Major Diego del Castillo, for five years *alcalde mayor* in the province of Moqui, had been to the Sierra Azul, and not only extracted quicksilver from the mines there, but "brought a blue stone from the Sierra Azul all veined with gold," as a sample. Otermín added that Castillo was the only Spaniard who had ever been to the mines, and that the others learned about it from him. He said that Castillo was also the one who told of the Indian who drank a thick liquid from a pool, thinking it was water, only to have it pass right through him and come out from another direction—a version of the story of the alleged pool or lake of quicksilver. Otermín's plan was discarded as impractical.⁵⁶

55. Domingo Jironza Petríz de Cruzate to the Count of Galve, Mexico City, December 1, 1691, *op. cit.*

56. Antonio de Otermín to the Count of Galve, Mexico City, December 28, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37, and an abridgement published in Meas, *op. cit.*, 145-147).

In the meantime Vargas found great difficulty in attempting to gather together at El Paso the former inhabitants of New Mexico. Since the uprising of 1680 they were living in Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora and Sinaloa as well as in the El Paso district. There were those at San Buenaventura, Las Cruces, Casas Grandes, and Janos. Many were living under royal protection. Some were enlisted in the garrisons at Conchos, Janos, Cuencamé, and Gallo. Others were working in the mines and on haciendas.⁵⁷ These people were fairly well off and were not desirous of starting life anew in a hostile wilderness. Many of them had lost their fortunes there. Due to these difficulties the Treasury Committee in Mexico City ordered that the news be spread in the regions specified by the governor of New Mexico, to the effect that those persons who wished to populate the region would be rewarded with favors and lands, and would be considered *hidalgos*.⁵⁸ This had little effect, for it was not unusual to grant pioneer settlers such favors.

In March, 1692, Vargas made a preliminary excursion into New Mexico northeastward across the Hueco Mountains, and deep into the "Sierra Negra" in the heart of the Mescalero Apache country, half the distance from El Paso to the Río Salado. The purpose of the expedition was to search for the salt beds and watering places of the Apaches. Their raids into the El Paso district had been continuous. It was Vargas' plan to defeat them by removing their essential bases, especially these valuable salt beds hidden beyond the mountains. The expedition was a complete success. Thirteen large salinas were located, and samples of salt were sent to the viceroy. In his letter Vargas added:

I send this little sack, but only wish, your Excellency, that it were from the vermilion mine, which is rich in quicksilver, and which, as report has it, is in the province of

57. Report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, November 26, 1691; Juan Isidor de Pardiñas, governor of New Vizcaya, to the Count of Galve, Parral, November 23, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

58. Report of the treasury committee, Mexico City, December 4, 1691. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

Zuñi in a mountain near the river and camp of the Conina Apaches. . . .⁵⁹

Also measures were taken better to protect the settlements of Indian allies from the inroads of the Apaches. The Sumas at Guadalupe were removed to a place near Socorro, where they would have better protection, and where a church was soon built. This place was two leagues from Socorro and seven leagues from El Paso. Here mission San Diego was built. By the end of March there were about 300 christianized Sumas living at the new mission. They had been peacefully subdued chiefly through the efforts of Father Antonio Guerra.⁶⁰

Another task was the granting of official possession of the missions built in the El Paso district to the missionaries. No mention of any such act could be found in the archives of the custodia. In the latter part of May, Vargas officially gave over the missions to the Franciscan Fathers that they might plant grain and carry on their missionary work free from outside interference. Of these missions two had already been built during the administration of Vargas: Nuestra Señora de la Concepción del Socorro, and the one being erected for the Sumas in honor of San Diego.⁶¹

No mention of any such act could be found in the archives of the custodian. In the latter part of May, Vargas officially granted to the Franciscan Fathers possession of the churches, convents, and sufficient surrounding lands for planting, without specifying any definite limits. Then the custodio asked for the definite assignment of lands to the Indians under the charge of the missionaries, and copies of the records attesting to such grants. This Vargas refused, fearing that it might bring on boundary disputes and ill feeling between the Indians and their Spanish neighbors.

59. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 7, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

60. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, March 30, 1692; report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, May 21, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

61. Vargas' journal, May, *passim*, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37. The most important documents were published in Maas, *op. cit.*, 155-164).

The result was a dispute with the ecclesiastical authorities. The litigation dragged on until August 8, 1692.⁶²

Vargas was now ready to make final preparations for the reconquest of New Mexico. On April 17 he had written to the viceroy that with what provisions and equipment he had he would send the first squadron into New Mexico on July 12.⁶³ A week earlier, by viceregal orders, he had notified the governor and lieutenant governor of New Vizcaya that he prepare the former inhabitants of New Mexico in that province for the impending expedition. Similar notifications had been sent to the *alcaldes mayores* and other ministers of justice in New Vizcaya, to the *alcalde mayor* of Sonora, to his own lieutenant general and captain general at Casas Grandes, and to the officials at San Buenaventura, where twenty or thirty former residents of New Mexico were living.⁶⁴

In spite of many attractive inducements the former New Mexicans living in New Vizcaya continued to ignore the royal orders. Vargas again wrote to Governor Pardiñas that he order these people to get ready. He now added that he would furnish munitions, arms, and food for those in need.⁶⁵ His inability to arouse their interest angered and surprised him. The viceroy finally sent a dispatch to El Paso stating that all those former residents of New Mexico who refused to return to Santa Fé would be considered unworthy for royal service.⁶⁶

Due to the lack of available settlers willing to leave the El Paso region Vargas stressed the necessity of more soldiers. With fifty men added to his forces he could go

62. The most important documents on this question may be found in Maas, *op. cit.*, 165-185.

63. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 17, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

64. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, El Paso, April 9, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

65. Diego de Vargas to Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, El Paso, April 9, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

66. Report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, May 22, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

directly to Santa Fé, defeat the Indians there, and then reconquer all New Mexico. The additional fifty soldiers were essential. Otherwise the undertaking was to be made at Vargas' own expense, without any cost to the viceroy other than the soldiers asked for. On May 28, 1692, all of the demands were granted by the Treasury Committee at Mexico City. The additional soldiers were to be sent up from Parral."

As for Sierra Azul, the royal fiscal proposed on January 5 that after the reconquest of Santa Fé a few pass on to the Moqui country and obtain twelve loads of ore, one-half blue and one-half red, in order that it be taken to Mexico City to be assayed. At the meeting of the Treasury Committee of May 28, it was resolved that after Vargas reconquered Santa Fé, "he should inquire into the matter, using his own discretion."

It is evident that the initiative in emphasizing the Sierra Azul investigation came principally from Vargas, as a means of furthering his own desire to reconquer New Mexico at an early date and reap the rewards.* But Vargas

67. Report of the treasury committee, Mexico City, May 28, 1692. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37).

68. Both Vargas and government officials in Mexico City apparently had hopes that there might be some truth in the stories about Sierra Azul and Cerro Colorado. A cheaper source of quicksilver for working the mines of New Spain was greatly in demand at the moment. But it cannot be said that Sierra Azul was the hidden motive for the reconquest, as one author has stated. This is sufficiently brought out from the official standpoint in the report of the finance committee, Mexico City, May 28, 1692 (*op. cit.*). And it had no appeal to the popular imagination, nor did Vargas attempt to use it as an argument to attract a following. Popular tradition was glutted with such tales. The story was emphasized by Vargas in official circles as an additional incentive to reconquer New Mexico, above all to keep the whole question of the reconquest in the limelight in Mexico City, at a time when there were other more immediate problems of defense and social and economic disorder, and thus prevent further delay. The significance of Sierra Azul in this connection lies in the definite part it played as a factor in hastening the reconquest, the carrying out of a frontier policy continuous since the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, during this critical period. Besides the many problems facing the government of New Spain already alluded to, there was much question, at the time, as to the strategic value of reoccupying New Mexico in the face of more immediate Indian hostility in New Vizcaya, Sonora, and Sinaloa. (See the opinions of Juan de Retana and Juan Bautista Esconza, March 15, 1692, in "Opinions of the Captains of New Vizcaya given in fulfilment of an order by his Excellency the Count of Galve, viceroy of New Spain, concerning the reconquest of New Mexico as proposed by the governor and captain general of El Paso and the province of New Mexico, sent by the governor and captain general of New Vizcaya

had royal orders to learn more about Huerta's story, and on his first entry into New Mexico, August 21 to December 20, 1692, he led an expedition to the Moqui villages, where inquiries were made. He examined a Zuñi Indian named Pedro, who was at one time a servant of Father José de Espeleta, the latter for thirty years a missionary among the Moquis prior to his martyrdom at their hands in 1680.

This Indian said the mines of Sierra Azul and Cerro Colorado were ten days travel from Aguatubi, in a high and steep mountain difficult of access. That it took a day or two to go up and get the ochre out of the earth, having to descend into a deep pit, and that there was no water there. He said that the vein was large and solid, and sometimes changed its color. The Indians used this earth to paint themselves, and also for the preservation of their skin, for it kept it smooth and soft and obliterated marks of the smallpox. The road from the Moqui villages was bad, and water was scarce, the first watering place being ten leagues from Aguatubi. A river lay in the route, the banks of which were so steep that horses could not be taken down them, but must be left on the east side; and it was necessary to pass through the country of the warlike Coninas.⁶⁹

After learning the distance to the place and the difficulties to be encountered in reaching it, Vargas decided to give up the expedition. Specimens of red earth from the alleged quicksilver mines were obtained at Jongopovi and brought away for the viceroy.⁷⁰ Oraibe, the westernmost of the Moqui villages, was not visited, although only nine leagues further on, because the horses were tired and in no

69. W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869), 369-370.

70. Diego de Vargas to the King, Zacatecas, May 16, 1693, *op. cit.*

to his Excellency, 1692;" and the report of the royal fiscal, Mexico City, August 14, 1692. Both in A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 37). After Vargas' successful campaign of 1692, the permanent reoccupation of New Mexico was assured, in spite of the subsequent discovery that the red earth from Sierra Azul did not contain quicksilver. It was a question of defending the northern frontier settlements from hostile Indians. After the abandonment of Texas by the Spanish in 1693, the New Mexico salient was potentially important for defense against the French as well, besides being a vigorous outpost of Spanish civilization.

condition to go any further. In his journal Vargas expressed the hope that "it should be found that the red ochre earth contains quicksilver and alloy enough to pay all costs."⁷¹ But when the red earth was finally examined in Mexico City, it was discovered that it contained no quicksilver.⁷² Thus did the viceregal investigation of 1691 come to an end. The legend of Sierra Azul was not forgotten, but it again became dormant.

Mange, who relates in his *Lúz de Tierra Incógnita* his long journeys on horseback with Father Kino in Pimería Alta, often speaks of "the Sierra Azul, rich in ores of silver and gold." He distinguishes it from reported quicksilver deposits northwest of Casas Grandes of which he also speaks.⁷³ In the winter of 1697, at an Indian camp twelve leagues west of Casas Grandes named San Andrés, Kino and Mange, and their men, saw a youth daubed with a very fine red paint that looked like vermilion. They asked where it was from, and he pointed to the northwest saying that it was brought from a place five days' journey in that direction, toward the Colorado River. Mange writes:

. . . and then he brought a ball of it, very red, wrapped in buckskins, very heavy, and so liquid and oily that the buckskins in which he brought it were very heavy. It appeared to me from what I have read in the philosophy of Barba's *De re metallica*, that it is quicksilver . . . asking special questions of the youth, he said that on breaking up this red metal which they brought to paint themselves with, thick, white, watery drops come out, the color of a lead ball. . . . That on picking it up it slips through one's fingers because of its fineness, and pools of it were made on the ground. And that gathering the equivalent of what fits in the hollow of a hat, it could not be lifted because it was so heavy. . . .⁷⁴

71. Vargas' journal, November 29, 1692. (English translation in Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, IV, 341, and in his *Old Santa Fé, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fé, 1925), 111.

72. Viceregal order, the Count of Galve to Diego de Vargas, Mexico City, April 18, 1693. (A. G. N., *Historia*, tomo 38).

73. Mange, *op. cit.*, 290.

74. *Ibid.*, 285-286.

In 1699, on one of their many journeys, Kino and Mange found on the edge of the Gila River, fifteen leagues east of its confluence with the Colorado, a piece of red, volatile metal, which they believed to have been washed down by the current from the vicinity of Sierra Azul.⁷⁵ When they reached the Verde River (Kino's *Río Azul*), Mange writes that the guides told them that it was given that name because it passed through a mountain which had stones veined in green, blue, and other colors. Mange adds the comment that this might be the Sierra Azul, which as tradition had it was full of gold and silver, and from which much metal of unusual purity had already been extracted by the inhabitants of New Mexico in the early period. But, he says, the region was later abandoned, "and years having passed, there only remains the story of Sierra Azul, rich in silver, without anyone at the present time having any knowledge of its whereabouts."⁷⁶ At the end of his account of this expedition Mange says that it would be well to investigate whether or not the rumored quicksilver mines and the gold and silver mines of Sierra Azul were one and the same.

Kino, the professor, did not believe in the rumors about a "lake of quicksilver," and other such imaginary tales.⁷⁷ But Velarde, the successor of Kino at the latter's mission at Dolores, wrote in 1716:

Attempts have also been made to investigate what the Pímas themselves say, who pointing out about one hundred leagues to the north of the Moqui, assure us that there is in that place a small tank or pool, of thick water of the color of silver, which moves much and is heavy and which upon being picked up goes through the hands; and that there is much red soil around there. These signs indicate quicksilver, whether the story is true or not. Who knows? Who would affirm it or disagree with it? This is true, that the natives of New Mexico claim that there is a quicksilver mine around there, although they do not know just where, nor which

75. *Ibid.*, 303-306.

76. *Ibid.*, 306. Mange believed that Sierra Azul was west of the Little Colorado River, about fifteen leagues west of Oraibe. (*Ibid.*, 125-126).

77. Constantino Bayle, *Historia de los descubrimientos y colonización de los padres de la compañía de Jesus en la Baja California* (Madrid, 1933), 75.

nation has the product which in New Spain is valued so highly.

It is also true that the Cocomaricopas bring from a distance some balls of reddish earth, which appears to be vermilion, with which they paint themselves, and it would not be difficult to obtain some of this. These things should not appear strange to anyone, for if so far away and in such remote places there should be found the said mine, the people of the place would help the missionaries and men of commerce, and lead them both to that which each desires.⁷⁸

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Sierra Azul was generally placed somewhere in what is now central Arizona, between the Moqui villages, the Gila and the Colorado. The Bolas de Plata episode of 1736 focused the eyes of many on Arizona. From contemporary documents we find that this discovery was soon identified with legendary treasures of the same general region.⁷⁹ In 1740 a small party of Frenchmen came to New Mexico by way of Jicarilla and Taos, and the first thing that they asked for was the whereabouts of Sierra Azul. We learn this from Father Juan Miguel Menchero, who in 1744 described Sierra Azul as follows:

It is called Sierra Azul because the earth, rocks, and the whole region is blue, with green, red, yellow, and scarlet veins. . . and at the top there is a rock about two varas long and a vara and a half wide which shines and looks exactly like gold. There is a tradition that this mountain is the richest in all New Spain. . . Sierra Azul is four days' journey from Moqui, and the road is rough and dry. . . The nation which inhabits the Sierra Azul is called that of the Coninas Apaches. . .⁸⁰

Either Father Menchero knew his history unusually well, or the tradition was still strong. Anyone who has visited the country in question will immediately dare to say that Menchero's description, combined with the earlier

78. Luis Velarde's *Relación*, 1716 (Wyllys' translation). See appendix.

79. Bayle, *op. cit.*, 153.

80. Juan M. Menchero, *Relación de la Sierra Azul*, 1744, in *Documentos para la historia de Nuevo Mexico*, II (manuscript in Bancroft Library, University of California).





Vargas reports and Mange's figures, presents an exact description of Sunset Crater, in the San Francisco mountains fifty miles southwest of Oraibe.⁸¹

The glowing reports about Sierra Azul sent back by Father Carlos Delgado and the other missionaries who visited the Moqui villages in 1742 and 1745, were mostly Franciscan missionary propaganda to reawaken interest in the Northern Mystery in the face of the danger of having to surrender the Moqui field to the Jesuits.⁸² With danger of rivalry ended by royal decree on November 23, 1745, no more attention was given to the Moquis for some thirty years.

On his return from the California coast to Sonora in 1774, just after opening the first land route between these two provinces, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza paused to give his men a short rest below Yuma.

The pause gave them time to make observations. He remarks in his diary that, since he had travelled beyond the Colorado River much farther than any of his predecessors had "even thought of going," he might comment on some old geographical notions. Wherever he had been, he said, he had inquired of the natives about Sierra Azul, and the Laguna de Azogue told of by Mange, "but even taking their existence for granted," he had found no ground for thinking that either of the tales could be verified. The hard-headed captain was not disposed to perpetuate such myths, even though his revered father believed in them.⁸³

Nevertheless, the legend persisted. In 1780, in official correspondence concerning the desirability of opening a safe road from Santa Fé to Sonora, was mentioned among other things the opportunity it would offer to verify the reported discovery of mines of virgin quicksilver in that region, "that the missionary of Zuñi, F. Silvestre Velez Escalante confirmed this information, vowing that he had even held some

81. But there are no gold, silver, or quicksilver mines in this vicinity. They are all west, southwest, and south of Prescott. Nothing other than small quantities of copper ore has been found in the San Francisco Mountains.

82. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 364.

83. Bolton, *Outpost of Empire* (New York, 1931), 119.

of the evidence in his hands, and offered to avail himself of the information the Indians had given him and with them to look for it, provided the necessary troops be supplied him for the purpose. . ." ⁸⁴ As late as 1785, and probably later, New Mexicans referred to the vicinity of the present Dátil Mountains south of Zuñi, and the country of the Gila Apaches, as the location of Sierra Azul. ⁸⁵ And in the early nineteenth century Sierra Azul was a "gold brick" at the expense of a credulous Anglo. ⁸⁶

Meanwhile, after three hundred years of exploration, geographical knowledge of Arizona became more exact, and by the middle of the century the legend of Sierra Azul faded out of existence. The Anglo-American invasion of the Southwest, led by men eager to find wealth, and quick to take advantage of the roads paved by several centuries of Spanish effort, resulted in the discovery of the rich mines in Arizona that were dreamed of in Spanish days but never found.

The long sporadic search for Sierra Azul was threefold in significance. It quickened the exploration of western New Mexico; it paved the way for the extension of geographical knowledge of what is now Arizona; and it hastened and assured the reconquest of the lost province of New Mexico by Vargas after many futile attempts extending over a period of twelve years. The most significant episode in the transmission of the legend of Sierra Azul in the colonial period was the part it played in the reconquest.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

I base my account on the contemporary records of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Some of these have been published. The memorial of Domínguez de Mendoza, which tells of Peñalosa's reference to Sierra Azul in the early 1660's, and Father Alonso de Posadas' *Informe á S.M. sobre las tierras de Nuevo Mejico*,

84. Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Okla., 1932), 180.

85. *Ibid.*, 258-262, 383.

86. Lansing B. Bloom in Bloom and Donnelly, *New Mexico History and Civics* (Albuquerque, 1933), 147.

Quivira y Teguayo, written about 1686, which comments on the location of Sierra Azul and its reported wealth, were published in Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Diego de Peñalosa y su descubrimiento del reino de Quivira* (Madrid, 1882). Posadas' *Informe* was also printed in the collection of *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, 3rd series, volume I. Mexico, 1856. P. Otto Maas, in his *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico, Documentos del archivo general de Indias (Sevilla) publicados por primera vez y anotados* (Madrid, 1929), has reproduced, with textual corrections, some of the documents pertaining to the viceregal investigation of Sierra Azul which took place in 1691. There are several references to Sierra Azul and Cerro Colorado, based on Vargas' letter to the viceroy, October 16, 1692; and Vargas' journal account of his expedition to Moqui in 1692, in the volume of *Documentos para la historia de Mexico* mentioned above, makes several references to Cerro Colorado and Sierra Azul.

Kino, Mange, and Velarde add considerable information. The best edition of Kino's *Favores celestiales de Jesús y de María Sma y del Gloriosísimo Apóstol de las Yndias*, written between the years 1699 and 1710, is Herbert E. Bolton's *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta* (Cleveland, 1919, 2v.). In 1922, Kino's manuscript was again edited by F. Hernandez del Castillo, and published as volume VIII of the *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico*. Part I of Mange's *Luz de tierra incógnita en la América Septentrional y Diario de las exploraciones en Sonora*, written in 1720, was published in the collection of *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, 4th series, volume I, Mexico, 1856. A more recent edition, complete, was published as volume X of the *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico*, in 1926. Velarde's *Relación* of 1716 was incorporated in Mange's work, and has been translated separately into English by Rufus Kay Wyllys in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII, ii, April, 1931. Some late eighteenth century documents referring to Sierra Azul have been published in Bolton's *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930, 5v.), and Alfred B. Thomas' *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Okla., 1932).

But the most important records consulted were the manuscript materials for the period 1689 to 1692. The original copies of Huerta's petition to make an expedition to Sierra Azul, the subsequent royal investigation, and the royal decree of September 13, 1689, are filed in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, and there are contemporary copies in the Archivo General in Mexico City. The documents concerning the viceregal investigation of 1691, which contain the testimony of over a dozen well known former residents of New Mexico, including Otermín and Cruzate, the journal of Vargas' first entry into New

Mexico in 1692 which records the expedition to the Hopi country for evidence, and Vargas' letter to the King, written May 16, 1693, which repeats the account of his first entry into New Mexico as recorded in his journal are all filed in both of these archives. There is a fragmentary copy of Vargas' journal in the Santa Fé Archive, in Santa Fé, New Mexico. The *Bolton Collection* in the Bancroft Library, University of California, contains transcripts of all of these documents, with the exception of the part of Vargas' journal for 1692, copied from the originals at the Archivo General in Mexico City under Bolton's direction. They are listed in his *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913). These documents furnished the clue to the real significance of Sierra Azul.⁸⁷

Volume II of the *Documentos para la historia de Nuevo Mexico*, Bancroft Library, contains a manuscript copy of Menchero's *Relación de la Sierra Azul, 1744*, copied from the original in the Archivo General in Mexico City, as well as other data on Sierra Azul for the years 1742 to 1745. And the manuscript *History of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1884), written by Samuel Ellison, at one time territorial librarian of New Mexico, which is an unfinished autobiography of the author, comments on Vargas' reference to "A quicksilver mine, situated on the west bank of the Colorado of the West."

Besides the "Peñalosa" map, there have been other maps of the little known regions beyond the northern frontiers of New Spain which show a Sierra Azul, such as Kino's own map of Lower California (1701), a Sanchez map (1757), Pfefferkorn's map (late eighteenth century), and a Kiepert map as recent as 1852. On the Kino map Sierra Azul is placed in the northeastern corner of Lower California, just below the mouth of the Colorado River. On the Sanchez and Pfefferkorn maps Sierra Azul appears in the center of a range of mountains in central Arizona. Kiepert's map shows a Sierra Azul in southern Utah. All of these maps locate the place in the same general vicinity, and in each case the legendary mountain is placed in a region little known to contemporaries.⁸⁸

87. Juan Villagutierre y Sotomayor's *Historia de la conquista, perdida y restauracion de el Reyno y provincias de la Nueva Mexico en la America septentrional* (manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), also has an account of Sierra Azul in its relation to the reconquest. See Maas, *op. cit.*, xxxii, xlii.

88. Kino's map has been variously reproduced heretofore in several printed works: namely, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 360; Herbert E. Bolton and Thomas M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1929), 303; Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (New York, 1932), 36. The Sanchez map referred to was printed in Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916), 36, and in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, VI. (April, 1931). Ignaz Pfefferkorn's map appears in the work by the same author, entitled, *Beschrei-*

The more recent bibliography of Sierra Azul consists of Davis, Bancroft, Donaldson, Twitchell, Bolton, Thomas, Leonard, and Bloom. W. W. H. Davis, in *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869), gives the most complete account of Vargas' expedition to Moqui in 1692, one of the objects of which was to obtain information about some red ochre mines in that region. Vargas' journal entries for the days spent in the Moqui country constituted Davis' only source on this point, consequently he ignored the relationship of these mines to Sierra Azul, for there the place is referred to as Cerro Colorado. H. H. Bancroft's *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889) mentions Sierra Azul in relation to Peñalosa in the 1660's; the Huerta episode, without knowledge of its full importance, his evidence based solely on the royal cédula of September 13, 1689; the Vargas expedition to Moqui in 1692, without knowledge of its relation to the legend of Sierra Azul; in a footnote in regard to one of Mange's references, and another footnote which mentions Menchero's *Relación*; and the part it played in the rivalry between the *padres prietos* and the *padres azules*, 1742 to 1745. Bancroft dismisses the Huerta incident with the erroneous statement: "As we hear no more of the matter, we may suspect that the empresario could not support all his allegations about northern wealth."

Thomas Donaldson, *Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico* (Washington, 1893) repeats one of the references in Davis and Bancroft in the following words: "Vargas was as interested in the discovery of certain mines of cinnabar and red ochre, reported to lie to the west of the Moqui pueblos, as he was in the recapture of the pueblos." Ralph Emerson Twitchell, in *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, 1911-14, 5v.), mentions Peñalosa's visit to "Cerro Azul," and quotes from Vargas' journal for November 29, 1692, where mention is made of his having obtained samples of red earth from the alleged quicksilver mines west of Moqui. This last mentioned passage is repeated in his *Old Santa Fé, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fé, 1925). Bolton, in his *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, speaks of one of Mange's references to Sierra Azul in a footnote, and mentions Anza's reference to Sierra Azul in the introductory volume to his Anza volumes, published separately as *Outpost of Empire* (New York, 1931). Thomas, in his *Forgotten Frontiers*, has a note on a supposed location

bung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland, nebst einer landkarte von Sonora (Köln, 1794-1795, 2v.). This work is now being translated into English by Theodore C. Treutlein, University of California. The Kiepert map was consulted from two copies in the map collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California (maps F-1226-1851-K41, and F-1226-1852-K4).

of Sierra Azul in the 1780's. In the introduction to his scholarly translation of Sigüenza y Góngora's *Mercurio Volante* (Los Angeles, 1932), Irving S. Leonard briefly discusses Sierra Azul as a factor in the reconquest of New Mexico, basing his discussion on some of the documents used for the present study. It is an accurate presentation of this phase of the legend. The most recent mention of Sierra Azul is the brief but balanced summary of its history by Lansing B. Bloom in Bloom and Donnelly's *New Mexico History and Civics* (Albuquerque, 1933).

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, III

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

CHAPTER V

ARIZONA'S INDIAN PROBLEM, 1870-1872

IN THE spring of 1870, the 3rd and 8th regiments, U. S. Cavalry, were transferred under Major DuBois from New Mexico to Arizona.¹ At Fort Cummings where the troops assembled, 2nd Lieut. Bourke was assigned to staff duty as quartermaster for the expedition to Camp Grant, and at the same time he was transferred from Co. E to Co. F of his regiment, the 3rd Cavalry.²

During the years between the Mexican War and the Civil War, the Apache tribes of the far Southwest had become a most complicated and serious problem. From western Texas to the Colorado river, more engagements were being fought than in all the rest of the trans-Mississippi region combined; and when in 1861 practically all of the U. S. troops were withdrawn from their police duty in the Indian country for service against the Confederate forces, naturally the Apaches thought that they were getting the best of it.

In New Mexico after the Texans had been driven from the Territory, the problem was partly solved by the vigorous policy initiated by General J. H. Carleton. But in Arizona matters went from bad to worse, after the treacherous treatment of the Chiricahua chief, Cochise, by Lieut. Geo. N. Bascom who, late in 1860, violated his own flag of truce. "From this time forward, Cochise was the sworn enemy of the whites, and for more than twenty years he and his tribe were at war with them. Bascom's stupidity and ignorance probably cost five thousand American lives and the destruction of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property."³

1. See pages 39-40.

2. See pages 43, 45.

3. T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, II, 32-33.

At the close of the Civil War, the Territory of Arizona was transferred from the military department of New Mexico to that of California, and during the winter of 1865-66 a force of about 2,800 California volunteers was operating against the hostiles. By April of 1866, nine hundred Apaches had been placed on a temporary reservation at Camp Goodwin; and thus was initiated in Arizona the system which General Carleton had started at Bosque Redondo, New Mexico. More than twenty years were to elapse before the system was fully worked out, but the underlying idea was to offer any hostile tribe just one alternative: if they would surrender to the United States authorities and locate within a restricted area called a "reservation," they would be protected and cared for; otherwise they would be relentlessly tracked down and killed.

It would have been a sufficiently heroic task to reduce the various hostile tribes of Arizona to a civilized manner of life, had a single branch of the federal government been given undivided authority to carry it out. But unfortunately responsibility was divided, overlapping, and far too often the authorities were at cross purposes. Our federal administration had at its service in the war department the U. S. army for the punishing of lawlessness and (in its police capacity) for the preventing of lawlessness; but since 1849 the federal administration had also had a "department of the interior" to which, among other matters was specifically assigned that of "Indian affairs." This latter branch, which may be regarded as the *civilian* administration of the Indians, was directed by a "commissioner of Indian affairs," and under him in Arizona from 1864 to 1872 was a territorial "superintendent of Indian affairs," and subordinate to him were local Indian agents. After 1872, the superintendency was abolished and agents reported directly to the commissioner at Washington.⁴ It is scarcely to be wondered

4. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 544. This author states that "before 1864 an agent at Mesilla (New Mexico) had merely nominal control of the Arizona Indians."

In his notes made in the fall of 1872, Bourke gives the following interesting list:

Names of Indian Agents and Agencies in Arizona

Hon. H. Bendell, Superintendent, - Prescott, A. T. (Arizona Territory)

at that friction, jealousy, and open antagonism often developed between officials and agents of the two departments, war and interior.

Early in 1866 the California volunteers were withdrawn, being replaced by troops of the regular army, from the 5th, 14th, and 32nd infantry, and 1st and 8th cavalry. Detachments of these regiments were engaged in the numerous combats of the next four years.⁵

In October, 1867, Arizona was formally declared a military district; and in 1869 Arizona and southern California were formed into a military department with headquarters at Fort Whipple. General George Stoneman became the first department commander, taking charge in the summer of 1870, shortly after the interchange of troops between Arizona and New Mexico which brought Bourke from Fort Craig to Camp Grant.

Writing some twenty years later,⁶ Bourke stated:

There are two great divisions of Indians in Arizona—those who cut the front hair at the level of the eyebrows, and those who do not. The latter belong to the widely disseminated Apache-Navajo family, one of the branches of the Tinneh stock which has conquered its way down from the circumpolar regions of the north, where many bands speaking the same language still live . . . The other tribes of Arizona are, or have been until a comparatively recent period, sedentary Indians who, in manners, customs, and personal appearance, strongly resemble the Pueblos of New Mexico. Among these are to be named the Cocopahs and Yumas, living on the lower Colorado and at the mouth of the Gila; the Maricopas and Pimas, on the Gila at or near the Big Bend; the Papagoes, of the same language as the Pimas, but brought into the Christian fold by Jesuit missionaries nearly two centuries ago; the Mojaves, who plant in the lowlands of the Colorado below the Grand Cañon;

5. F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903*, II, 426-435.

6. J. G. Bourke, "General Crook in the Indian Country," in *Century Magazine*, xli, 650-652 *passim*.

Dr. R. A. Wilber	- - - - -	Papago Agency
J. H. Stout, Maricopas & Pimas,	-	Sacatón
J. A. Robert, White Mountain Reservation,		Camp Apache
C. F. Larrabee, San Carlos Division,		White Mt. Res.
Dr. J. A. Tonner	- - - - -	Colorado Reservation
[Thos.] J. Jeffords	- - - - -	Chiricahua Reservation
J. Williams	- - - - -	Rio Verde Reservation
Capt. Thos. Byrne	- - - - -	Beale's Springs Reservation

the Moquis, who live in houses of stone on the apexes of lofty cliffs and who are a patient, industrious set of farmers of a very religious turn of mind . . . The Navajo differs from the Apache only in having absorbed whole communities of Pueblos, and in having come to a considerable degree under the influence of Catholic missionaries of the Franciscan order, who supplied him with horses, sheep, peach trees, and other necessities which gradually brought about a change in his character. . .

But the Apache stands as one of the divisions of the American aborigines (the others being the Lacandonese of Guatemala and the Araucanians of Chile) who scorned the religious teachings and despised the military power of the Castilian, and the Apache differs from these others not only in having kept his own boundaries intact, but in having raided and plundered without cessation since the days of Cortez over a zone of the viceroyalty of Mexico or New Spain which . . . comprehended the southwestern corner of what we now call Colorado, half of Texas, all of Arizona, New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Sonora, and Durango, and, on occasion, even as far south as Zacatecas.

Physically, the Apache is perfect; he might be a trifle taller for artistic effect, but his apparent "squattiness" is due more to great girth of chest than to diminutive stature. His muscles are hard as bone, and I have seen one light a match on the sole of his naked foot. Twenty years ago (1871) when Crook took him in hand, the Apache had few wants and cared for no luxuries. War was his business, his life, and victory his dream. . .

I was serving in Arizona for two years before Crook's arrival, which was not until June, 1871. I know that a book could be written regarding the black night of despair, unrelieved by the glint of one kindly star, in which all that pertained to that Territory was involved. I have in my possession copies of Arizona newspapers of those years which are filled with accounts of Apache raids and murders and of counter-raids and counter-murders. No man's life was safe for a moment outside the half-dozen large towns, while in the smaller villages and ranchos sentinels were kept posted by day and packs of dogs were turned loose at night. All travel, even on the main roads, had to be done between sunset and sunrise; the terrorized ranchmen who endeavored to till a few acres of barley or corn in the bottoms did

so with cocked revolvers on hip and loaded rifles slung to the plow-handles. . .

Of the American troops and their officers in general nothing can fairly be said but words of praise: they were conscientious, brave, energetic, and intelligent; anxious to do their whole duty, but not acquainted with every foot of the ground as the Apaches were. In a word, they were not savages.

To fight savages successfully, one of two things must be done—either the savages must be divided into hostile bands and made to fight each other, or the civilized soldier must be trained down as closely as possible to the level of the savage. No matter how well disposed or how brave and bright a soldier might be, it took time and attention to teach him how to take care of himself in face of so subtle an enemy as the Apache. Under our then system of recruiting from the slums of the great cities, our army often got very inferior material. . .

During the period from 1866 to 1870 there had been no cessation of Apache hostilities and the two or three thousand troops, stationed at strategically located posts over Arizona, saw very strenuous and constant service.' For

7. For convenient reference, a chronological table of forts and camps in Arizona during this period has been compiled from data given in Heitman, *Historical Register*; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*; F. C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*; Patrick Hamilton, *Resources of Arizona* (1884); and Bourke, "Field Notes, Nov. 18, 1872 to April 8, 1873" (ms.):

Fort Defiance, 1849; at Cañon Bonita. The first military post in (later) Arizona.

Camp Independence, 1850; east of the Colorado at the junction with the Gila. Soon moved across the Colorado and renamed *Fort Yuma*.

Fort Yuma, 1851; altitude 355 ft.

Fort Buchanan, 1856-61; near Calabazas ranch, 45 mis. southeast of Tucson. First named *Camp Moore*; in 1867 reestablished as *Camp Crittenden*.

Fort Mojave, 1858; on Colorado river near head of Mojave valley. Abandoned 1861-63, later reestablished as *Camp Mojave*. Altitude 600 ft.

Fort Breckinridge, 1859; at junction of Arivaipa and San Pedro rivers. It was first called *Fort Arivaipa*, then *Breckinridge*, then *Fort Stanford*, and in 1862 it became (old) *Fort Grant*. In 1873 the post was moved to a new site at the foot of Mount Graham and was known as (new) *Fort Grant*.

Fort Barrett, 1862; at the Pima Villages.

Camp Lowell, 1862; the Tucson post, 7 mis. northeast; abandoned 1864; reoccupied 1865, and made permanent in 1866.

Fort Grant, 1862. See *Breckinridge*.

Fort Bowie, 1862; at Apache Pass; made permanent in 1863. Altitude 4,826 ft.

Camp Whipple, 1863; in Chino Valley. Transferred (1864) 20 mis. south near Prescott and made department headquarters. Also called *Whipple Barracks* and *Prescott Barracks*. Altitude 5,700 ft.

Camp Supply, (1863?); on the Little Colorado near modern Holbrook. Later named *J. A. Rucker Camp*.

Camp Goodwin, 1864; a temporary reservation on the Gila river north of Mt. Graham; broken up at the end of 1868. See *Fort Thomas*.

Camp Lincoln, 1864; on the Verde river 30 mis. east from Prescott. The post was moved slightly in 1871 and renamed *Fort Verde*. Here for several years was an Indian reservation.

Camp Colorado, 1864; on the Colorado River Indian reservation. Also called *Camp La Paz*.

example, General T. C. Devin's report for 1868 showed that there had been forty-six expeditions in the northern area of the district which resulted in 114 Indians killed, 61 wounded, and 35 captured. In the south little had been accomplished, although Cochise, chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, had promised to keep the peace.

When Bourke arrived in Arizona, the state of affairs had indeed become desperate. As another writer says:⁸

During the years '69, '70, and '71 Apache atrocities had mounted steadily to a climax of terror and bloodshed. Scouting expeditions were carried on all the time by army officers unsurpassed for bravery and knowledge of Indian ways. But the territory to be covered was vast, arid, and mountainous. There was neither telegraph nor railroad; supplies had to be brought from great distances; the foe was as wily and resourceful as any that ever arrayed itself against the white man. The Apaches struck simultaneously at points far apart, and so added distraction to terror. . . . The *Prescott Miner*, in the autumn of 1871, published a list of Apache murders and atrocities occurring between March, 1864, and the fall of 1871. Three hundred and one pioneers had been murdered, two of whom were known to have been burned alive; fifty-three were wounded and crippled for life, and five carried into captivity.

8. F. C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, 164-165.

Fort Mason, (1864?); 12 mis. southeast of Tubac. (Later called *Camp McKee*?)

Fort McDowell, 1865; on the Rio Verde 8 mis. above junction with Salt river (Rio Salado). Altitude, 1,800 ft.

Camp in Skull Valley, (1865?); near Prescott.

Camp McPherson, 1866; on Date Creek, a southern tributary of the Bill Williams, about 60 mis. west of Prescott and in the heart of the Apache-Mojave country. Here also was a temporary asylum for Indians. In 1868 the name was changed to *Camp Date Creek*. It was abandoned (1874) when the Indians were moved to *Camp Verde*. Altitude, 3,726 ft.

Camp Wallen, 1866; on Badacomari Creek 65 mis. southeast of Tucson. In 1876 it gave place to *Fort Huachuca*.

Camp Crittenden, 1867-74; built on the hill just above old *Fort Buchanan*. In 1876 it became *Fort Huachuca*.

Camp Reno, 1869; in Tonto valley at the foot of Reno Pass; a substation of *Fort McDowell*.

Camp Hualpai, 1869; on Mojave Creek 1½ mis. southeast of Aztec Pass and 45 mis. northwest of Prescott. First called *Camp Toll Gate*. Altitude 6,000 ft.

Camp Apache, 1870; 180 mis. north of Fort Bowie in the heart of the Coyotero-Apache country with the peaks of the White Mts. as a background. This important post had been occupied in the latter '60s and was known variously as *Camp Mogollon*, *Camp Ord*, *Camp Thomas* (distinct from *Fort Thomas*). Altitude 5,600 ft.

Camp Verde, 1871; far up on the Rio Verde. See *Camp Lincoln*.

Camp Beale's Springs, (1871?); 43 mis. east of *Fort Mojave*.

Fort Thomas, 1875; on the upper Gila river above the site of old *Camp Goodwin*.

In the authorities above cited and on maps of this period, the names of perhaps twenty other posts may be found but without sufficient definiteness to be included in this list.

Unfortunately, as Bourke himself indicates later in his notes, his notebooks of these first years were lost or stolen, so that it is impossible to give any complete account of his service from the spring of 1870 to the fall of 1872. However, sufficient details have been gathered from various sources to give us a pretty clear idea of his first relations with Arizona. From such details it is possible, therefore, to block in the main lines of the picture; after which the picture will be filled in by several reminiscences, entered at later points in his field notebooks but relating to this introductory period.

A chronological list of engagements, beginning with the arrival of the 3rd U. S. Cavalry in Arizona, shows the following record:*

date	place	troops engaged
Mar. 15-16, 1870	near Sol's Wash	detachment Co. H, 21 Inf.
April 30	Pinal Mts., near San Carlos	detach. E, 1 Cav; B, 3 Cav; detach. A, 21 Inf.
May 25	Tonto Valley	E, 1 Cav; E, 3 Cav.
May 29-June 26	near Camp Apache	detach. A, 3 Cav.
June 2	near Copper Cañon	detach. C, 21 Inf.
June 3	near Ft. Whipple	detach. M, 3 Cav.
June 5	Apache Mts.	detachs. K, 1 Cav. and B and F, 3 Cav.
Do.	Black Cañon	detach. M, 3 Cav.
June 15	east branch of Rio Verde	E, 3 Cav.
June 24	White Mts.	detachs. A, C, L, M, 3 Cav.
July 25	Pinal Mts.	F, 3 Cav.
Aug. 1	Skirmish Cañon, Apache Mts.	K, 1 Cav; F, 3 Cav.
Oct. 6	Pinaleno Mts.	F, 3 Cav.
Oct. 29	Pinal Mts.	C, 1 Cav.
Dec. 14	Mount Turnbull	F, 3 Cav.
Jan. 1, 1871	Pinal Mts., near Gila river	detachs. G, 1 Cav. and H, 3 Cav.
Jan. 7	Ciénega, near Camp Verde	detachs. A, E, G, 3 Cav.
Jan. 9	East Fork river, near Mazatzal Mts.	Do.

9. Heitman, *Historical Register*, II, 435-438 *passim*.

Feb. 12	Apache Pass, Chiricahua Mts.	detach. C, 8 Cav.
Feb. 13	Sierra Galiuro (<i>sic</i>)	F, 3 Cav.
March 21	Peloncillo Mts.	detach. K, 3 Cav.
March 28	Gila river, near Gila Mt.	Do.
April 1-3	Camp Date Creek	detach. B, 3 Cav.
April 4	Sierra Ancho	F, 3 Cav.
April 11	Apache Mts.	Do.
April 12	Do.	Do.
April 16	Dragoon Mts.	detach. K, 3 Cav.
May 5	Whetstone Mts.	detach. F, 3 Cav.
June 1	Huachuca Mts.	Do.
June 8-9	East Fork river, Mazatzal Mts., and Wild Rye Creek	detachs. A, E, G, 3 Cav.
June 10	Huachuca Mts.	F, 3 Cav.
July 13	Ciénega de los Pinos	G, 21 Inf.
July 19	Bear Springs, near Camp Bowie	detach. K, 3 Cav.
August 25	Arivaypa Cañon	D, H, and detach. F, 3 Cav.
Sept. 5	Chino Valley	
Oct. 24	Horseshoe Cañon	K, 3 Cav.
Apr. 17, 1872	near Camp Apache	detach. D, 21 Inf.
April 25	Juniper Mts.	detach. K, 5 Cav.
May 6	scout from Camp Hualpai	detach. K, 5 Cav.
May 19	Do.	Do.
May 23	Sycamore Cañon	detach. A, 1 Cav.
June 10	Bill Williams Mt.	Do.
July 1	Gardiner's ranch, Sonora Valley	detach. F, 5 Cav.
July 13	cañon of Whetstone Mts.	Do.
July 25	Moore's ranch, Sonora Valley	Do.
July 27	Mount Graham	A, 8 Cav.
Aug. 6	Chiricahua Mts.	Do.
Aug. 27	Davidson's cañon	detach. F, 5 Cav.
Sept. 8	Camp Date Creek	E, 5 Cav.
Sept. 25	Muchos Cañon, Santa María river	B, C, & K, 5 Cav; Indian scouts.
Sept. 30	Squaw Peak	detach. A, 1 Cav.
Do.	near Camp Crittenden	detach. F, 5 Cav.
Oct. 25-Nov. 3	Santa María Mts. and Sycamore Creek	B, C, and K, 5 Cav.

November 25	Red Rocks or Hell Cañon	C, 5 Cav; Piute scouts.
Nov. 26	Red Rock country	B, 5 Cav.
Dec. 7-8	Do.	K, 5 Cav; detach. G, 23 Inf; Indian scouts.
Dec. 11	Bad Rock Mt., north of Old Camp Reno	detachs. L & M, 1 Cav; detach. I, 23 Inf; Indian scouts.
Dec. 13	Mazatzal Mt., north of Old Camp Reno	Do.
Dec. 14	Indian Run	E, 5 Cav.
Dec. 28	Salt River Cañon	G, L, M, 5 Cav; Indian scouts.
Do.	Red Rock Springs and Red Rock Valley	detach. H, 5 Cav.
Dec. 30	mouth of Baby Cañon	detach. E, 5 Cav.
Jan. 2, 1873	Clear Creek Cañon	detach. K, 5 Cav; 1 man of G, 23 Inf; Indian scouts.
Jan. 16	Superstition Mt.	B, C, G, H, L, M, 5 Cav.
Jan. 19	East Fork, Verde river	detach. E, 5 Cav.
Jan. 22	Tonto Creek	K, 5 Cav.
Feb. 6	Hell Cañon	detach. A, 1 Cav.
Feb. 20	near Fossil Creek	I, 1 Cav.
Mar. 19	Mazatzal Mts.	K, 5 Cav.
Mar. 25	near Turret Mts.	detach. A, 5 Cav.
Mar. 27	Turret Mts.	detachs. A, 5 Cav. and I, 23 Inf; Indian scouts.

If it is remembered that Bourke arrived in Arizona as an officer of Company F, 3rd Cavalry, some of his field service during this period will be evident from the above table. This is a record, however, simply of fights with hostiles; from one post or another, times without number, a detachment was out on the trail which failed to make contact with those whom they sought. And often six or more detachments were in the field simultaneously, doggedly trailing and scouting into every corner of the labyrinthian "Apache country." In actual distance alone during a single year of such service, many an officer like Bourke or one of Jerry Russell's "wearies" could have estimated that he might have ridden clear across the United States.

Moreover, almost immediately Bourke was assigned to

duty which took him to all parts of the military department, south into Sonora, west to the Pacific coast, and a few years later into the north and northwest. In the years following the Civil War, General George Crook had made an enviable record as an Indian fighter in the far Northwest; and as a result of the furore in the east caused by the horrible "Camp Grant massacre," President U. S. Grant had Crook transferred to Arizona, to relieve Stoneman. By an order issued at Drum Barracks¹⁰ on June 4, 1871, Crook assumed command and a week later he was at Tucson (then the territorial capital). Shortly afterwards he selected Bourke as one of his three aides-de-camp.¹¹ This relieved Bourke from immediate duty with his troop, and he was soon in the field on his first campaign with General Crook.¹²

May 23d. [1880] Major A. H. Nickerson, Ass't Adj. Gen. U. S. A., formerly A. D. C. to General Crook, arrived at Hd. Qrs. [Fort Omaha, Neb.] on a short visit, en route to Santa Fé, New Mexico.

May 25th. Read in the telegrams the statement of the death at Columbus, Ohio, May 24, of my old friend, Cap't. Thomas L. Brent, retired list, formerly 3d Cavalry. This officer represented in his descent two of the finest families of the country,—the Lees of Virginia and the Carrolls of Carrollton, Maryland. I served with him in the 3d. Cavalry, in Arizona, in 1871 and together we went through many scenes that were exciting and pleasurable and some that were hazardous. Under General Crook, in his first campaign against the hostile Apache Indians, we scouted from Tucson, Arizona, to Camp Bowie and thence north via the "Dos Cabezas," "Sierra Bonita" (or Mount Graham) and head

10. Drum Barracks, between Wilmington and San Pedro, California, was headquarters of the department.

11. He already had Capt. A. H. Nickerson, 23 Inf., as an aide. In Bourke, "Field Notes, Nov. 1872-Apr. 1873" is pasted the following *General Orders, No. 13:*

Headquarters Department of Arizona

Drum Barracks, Cal., September 1, 1871.

The following named officers, having been directed by the War Department to report for duty upon the personal Staff of the Department Commander, are hereby announced as Aides-de-Camp to the undersigned:

Second Lieutenant *William J. Ross*, 21st Infantry.

Second Lieutenant *John G. Bourke*, 3d Cavalry.

George Crook,
Lieut-Col., 23d Infantry,
Bvt. Major General,
commanding.

12. The following excerpt is from the notebook of "Apr. 9-July 26, 1880."



courtesy D. Appleton-Century Co.

GENERAL GEORGE CROOK
sketch by Frederic Remington
(*Century*, March, 1891)

of "Aravaypa" and "Gabilan" cañons to the Rio Gila, and still north up the Rio San Carlos and over to the Sierra Blanca at the post of Camp Apache where we replenished supplies, and from Camp Apache nearly due west along the crest of the then unknown "Mogollon" Mountains to the post of Camp Verde on the stream of the same name and from there to Fort Whipple, near Prescott. The total distance marched was close to 660 miles and the time occupied—from July 11th, 1871 to August 31st of same year.¹³

One day in August while the command was marching through the pine forests on the summit of the "Mogollon" range and along the edge of the vertical wall of basalt which faced the "Tonto Basin," Brent and I were riding with General Crook, the latter slightly in our front. Suddenly, a couple of stalwart Apaches who had been lying in ambush, jumped from behind a screen of low bushes, yelled a defiant war-whoop, fired two arrows at General Crook and recklessly hurled themselves over the cliff. Whether from the audacity of the attack, the imminent danger to which our chief was exposed, or the reckless disregard of life and limb evinced by the naked Indians as they went bounding like rubber balls from rock to rock down the almost vertical face of the precipice—or from all these causes combined, we were petrified with astonishment and didn't promptly enough obey General Crook's orders to dismount and fire upon the fleeing savages. They escaped, not, however, without wounds, as we could see that one of them was badly hurt in the left arm. The arrows had whistled by General Crook's head and imbedded themselves so deeply in a tall pine tree that it was impossible to extract more than half the shafts.

Shortly after this we were obliged to make a very long march, hoping to reach the Rio Verde. The country was unknown to us, our guides had never seen it before and our movements, consequently, became very uncertain. After travelling for 7 or 8 hours, the heat of the sun and the glare from the barren blocks of basalt besetting our line of march (for we had now gotten out of the forest and were descending the open flanks of the mountain), became extremely annoying and the command suffered greatly from thirst. General Crook sent me with a detachment off to one flank to look for springs or creeks or water-holes. In a very few

13. F. C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, p. 174, gives an excellent appraisal of this initial campaign.

moments, I had crossed a low range of hills and found myself at the edge of a deep cañon, impossible to descend, and could see flowing at the bottom a most tantalizingly pretty streamlet; our poor mules and horses brayed and neighed piteously, but to no avail. Descent was impracticable without wings. The whole command marched alongside this aggravating little cañon for a distance, if I remember aright, of 14 miles and long after dark reached its mouth at the point where the streamlet emptied into what we took to be the Beaver creek fork of the Rio Verde. Everybody was tired out, but poor Brent so exhausted that he could only get off by falling from the saddle and immediately after was attacked with a copious haemorrhage of the lungs.

He was a genial, companionable and scholarly gentleman and a soldier whose bravery, intelligence, and ambition were far in excess of his physical powers.

The following amusing anecdote of the army medical service takes us into the country southwest of Prescott, and it is believed to relate to the fall of 1872.¹⁴

January 9th, 1881. Remained at Hd. Qrs., during morning, attending to official business. Day very cold. Left in the afternoon for Council Bluffs, Iowa, where we staid overnight at the U. P. R. R. Depot, meeting the others of our party, Indians and all. This night was so cold that mercury froze in the Bulb.

January 10th, 1881. Left Council Bluffs, Iowa, for Running Water, Dakota, going by way of Chicago and North-Western R. R., to Missouri Valley Junction, thence by Sioux City & Pacific to Sioux City, Iowa, and from that point following along branches of the Chicago Milwaukee and Saint Paul R. R. As I was seated along side of Revd. Mr. Riggs and Revd. Mr. Dorsey, our conversation naturally drifted to Indian matters and especially to Indian therapeutics. I gave them an account of the sickness and cure of Chimahuevisal, one of the prominent chiefs of the Apache-Yuma¹⁵ tribe in Arizona, living at Camp Date Creek in that territory. This Indian, a handsome specimen of physical strength and beauty, was "taken down" with a violent attack of inflammation of the lungs, complicated with every

14. It is from the notebook of "Feb. 5-March 8, 1881," written at Fort Omaha, Neb. Camp Date Creek will be found in the list of military posts, *supra*; the "list of engagements" shows trouble at Date Creek and in the Santa Maria country from September to November, 1872.

15. A slip, on Bourke's part, for *Apache-Mojave*. See below.

variety of pulmonary and bronchial trouble, fever and indigestion. There were two or three Army Doctors at the post who jumped at the chance of experimenting with the case. They certainly displayed no niggardliness in the amount of medicines they gave their patient: commencing with syrup of squills and paregoric, they put him through the whole dispensatory, now giving him a dose of ipecac, now a little Jolu; Cod liver oil in large quantities to furnish heat inwardly and Croton oil to furnish it on the outside. Then they gave him warm baths and applied mustard poultices to his feet. But no effect was perceptible—the sick man kept getting worse and worse, his cheeks were hollow, his voice tremulous and his eyes shone with the gleam of approaching dissolution. More than that, most wonderful thing of all, the poor Indian had no appetite. After swallowing half a bottle full of cod-liver oil, three or four teaspoonsful of ipecac, taking four (5) grain quinine pills, having a pint of Croton oil rubbed on his chest and experiencing the stimulating effects of a mustard foot-bath, Chimahuevi's system "failed to respond," as the medical men termed it, and he refused to notice the food set before him. There was but one thing for our gentlemanly Sawbones to do and they did it; they declared that Chimahuevi's time had come; that he hadn't many more hours to live and that he should settle up all his mundane affairs and turn his thoughts to the joys awaiting him on the Shining Shore. But Chimahuevi-Sal didn't seem to enter very enthusiastically into the Shining Shore business; to be candid, he most decidedly "bucked" against the idea of joining the Angel Band. This world was plenty good enough for the likes of him and he proposed to remain in it to the very utmost limit of possibility. So he summoned the "head medicine man" of his nation. It must be understood that among the Indians of Arizona, a "medicine man" can "pitch in" and stay with perfect immunity from responsibility until he has planted seven of his victims under the daisies, or rather under the crocuses, because they don't have daisies in that part of the country. His loss of popularity in the tribe is then intimated to him by a committee who take him and roast him to death; that is if they can catch him. As a general thing, "medicine men" who have buried six patients prefer to retire from active practice and leave the field to younger men; this is a rule which might be observed with advantage in *our boasted* higher civilization, but for some reason, *our*

medicine men are not limited as to the number of their victims and consequently never know exactly when to retire from the front ranks of professional life, as their *Apache-Mojave* brethren do. As may be supposed, our American practitioners were fearfully discomfited by Chimahuevi's action in sending for the Apache-Mojave Doctor and became very much exasperated at such Lieutenants as ventured to ask in a solemn kind of way if the Indian had been "called in for consultation with them?" Such a query whenever made, and it was truly astonishing how many lieutenants were making it about that time, was always sure to produce an explosion of wrath and a perfect trend of expletives against all the dash-dash-dashed Indians in America and all the dash-dash-dashed idiot Lieutenants in the U. S. Army. The anger of our medical staff was somewhat assuaged but not wholly appeased by our rather lame explanations that we were merely in quest of enlightenment upon a point of professional etiquette and that had we even so much as dreamed that our gentlemanly, talented and experienced friends of the Medical Corps had been superseded by a savage Indian we should, from motives of delicacy, have carefully refrained from making any allusion to the subject. Somehow or another, our apologies only made the "pale-face medicine men" all the madder and evoked another storm of oburgation upon the dash-dash-dashed idiot Lieutenants which we felt, in our hearts, was intended to have a very personal application.

To be brief, Chimahuevi-Sal sent for his Indian medicine man, told him that the pale-faced pill-carpenters had failed most ignominiously in their efforts to restore him to health and concluded by promising the Apache-Mojave doctor his all-potent friendship in case he succeeded in "pulling him through" his troubles. The "medicine man" accepted the contract and at once began to make his diagnosis: in this he was a great deal more expeditious than the white Doctors had been. They had made every sort of an examination and had come to no sort of a definite conclusion: from their remarks, one might judge that Chimahuevi Sal was suffering from a trifle of everything—mumps, bronchitis, cerebro-spinal meningitis and Bright's disease, without any absolute certainty as to which was most serious in its indications. In the exactness of his conclusions, as in the promptness with which he arrived at them, the medicine man again showed his power. He had only to thump the

sick man on the chest once or twice to be able to announce in a very precise and dogmatic way that a spirit had seized upon Chimahuevi and had to be dispossessed before the sick chief could get on his "pins" again. Everything was soon ready for the exorcism—the medicine man appeared, naked to the waist and daubed from head to foot with paint and powder; his long black hair, in which a few feathers hung, dangled loose to his waist: in each hand he held a gourd filled with shot which rattled a fearfully dismal accompaniment as he thumped himself in the ribs with his elbows and howled a blood-curdling lay. Half the young bucks of the tribe had been sworn in as deputies and seated themselves in a circle around the dying man, upon whose naked breast, the half-healed blisters proclaimed the abortive efforts of the pale-faced Doctors. Within the extended circle a few old wrinkled hags were cooking over a little fire of juniper branches, in an iron camp kettle borrowed from the Quartermaster's Department. In this kettle they had made a fearful mess, by boiling water with tobacco, coffee-grounds and slug-worms, which latter they would crack open to let the green "jism" run out. Then singing (!) commenced, the boss medicine man leading off in a howl that would have made a coyote ashamed of himself, and followed by all the bucks and squaws whose din showed they were engaged in a work of love.

I don't know how long this performance was continued; I had to leave the post, the evening of the day it commenced, but for the whole time that I was within ear-shot, the dismal music of the thump, thump, thump of the drums and iron kettles, the rattling of gourds and the howls of the singers were maintained without the slightest sign of intermission. The recovery of Chimahuevi-Sal was accomplished very speedily; the Demon which possessed him could endure all the tortures our Doctors had inflicted upon him, but when it came to listening to the music (!) of the Apache-Mojaves, it found it hadn't the necessary fortitude, so it retreated in a very hurried and undignified manner.

Chimahuevi-Sal celebrated his restoration by going on the war-path. It took our troops nearly three months to drive him and his little band back to the Reservation, such was the rugged and inaccessible character of the mountains in which he took refuge. Captain A. H. Nickerson, 23rd Infantry, (at that time A. D. C. upon Genl. Crook's Staff and now a Major in the Adjutant General's Department, at

Washington) and Captain James Burns, 5th Cavalry, since dead, were entrusted with this duty and performed it well and notwithstanding the great trouble Chimahuevi-Sal gave, I never heard either of these officers say an unkind word about him; maybe the sufferings he had undergone at the hands of our "medicine men" may have seemed to them to have justified any measure of retaliation. Yet our Doctors always maintained a bold front on this point and strongly averred that it was their treatment which had saved Chimahuevi-Sal's life; that the Croton blister had drawn all the inflammation from the lungs and that the only thing needed after that was *rest*, which, perhaps, the tortured invalid found in the howls and yells and drumming of the Apache conjurors. I thought I noticed after this occasion, that whenever any of the Lieutenants who had scoffed at the failure of our Doctors and extolled the greater skill of the *Indian* "professors,"—whenever any of these Lieutenants had an attack of indisposition—no matter what its nature, —dyspepsia, malaria or jaundice, our medical men put him through a course of sprouts, and drenched him with all the vile compounds in the laboratory—just to get even, I suppose.

In a recent book appears the somewhat curious statement: "In 1869, the Indian department was turned over to the Quakers, and all the agents appointed at the different agencies were Quakers. They were ordered to put a stop to all tribal wars."¹⁶ The author apparently is referring to the fact that in 1867 a "board of peace commissioners" was created at Washington for the management of Indian affairs, but it is doubtful whether any Quakers were sent to Arizona. Some of the Indians agents in the Southwest during the '70s were able men and gave excellent service, but others were certainly incapable and in some cases they were unscrupulous profiteers.

The new board was made permanent in 1869, and the movement had strong backing in the East—President Grant and many others, both military and civilian, were in full sympathy with the idea of protecting the Indian from injustice and working out a uniform policy which would result

16. G. B. Grinnell, *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion*, (1928), 215.

in the real welfare of the Indian. But conditions in Arizona were not correctly understood in the East, and if the "Camp Grant massacre" was a "gross outrage" perpetrated by Tucson citizens with the help of a lot of Papago Indians, so also was it a gross outrage on Arizona for the peace commissioners to send out, as they did, Vincent Colyer, "an ultra fanatic, with full powers to settle the Apache question."¹⁷

Colyer, who had visited New Mexico, and even reached the Moqui towns in 1869, arrived [in Arizona] in August, 1871. Crook, in obedience to his orders, suspended military operations, and Governor Safford issued orders for the commissioner's protection, with a view to restrain the popular fury. Colyer came fully imbued with the belief that the Apaches were innocent victims of oppression, and the whites wholly to blame for past hostilities; and he would listen to nothing not confirmatory of his preconceived views, scorning to seek information from the rascally citizens, the bloody-minded officers, or anybody else who knew anything about the real state of affairs. Protected by an escort, he visited the posts and met several bands of Apaches, just then disposed by the destitution arising from past reverses to come in, make peace, and be fed. From them he got all the testimony he desired on their peaceful and harmless disposition.

He approved or selected temporary reservations or asylums at Camps Grant, Apache, Verde, McDowell, Beale Spring, and Date Creek; then he went on to California in October, followed by the curses of Arizonans, but fully convinced that the Apache question was settled. . .

Within a year from Colyer's arrival, the Apaches are known to have made 54 raids, and killed 41 citizens. The absurdities of his report were somewhat apparent even at Washington; and though his acts were approved, orders were sent to Crook through General Schofield in November 1871, not only to enforce strict measures on the reservations, but to wage war on all who refused to submit. February 1872 was fixed as the date before which all must come in, or take the consequences.¹⁸

As a sequel to the Colyer mission was that of General

17. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 561-562. Bourke calls Colyer "that spawn of hell."

18. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 562-563.

O. O. Howard who arrived in April, 1872, as a personal representative of President Grant and with the especial object of finding Cochise and straightening out matters with him. The powerful Apache tribe of which Cochise was the chief had their home in southeastern Arizona, in the fastnesses of the Chiricahua mountains (whence their name) and in the Dragoon mountains farther north. East and west through their country ran a main artery of travel; at their feet and trending to the northwest lay the San Pedro valley; farther west but within easy striking distance lay the Santa Cruz valley; while directly south lay the vast expanse of Sonora and the wild retreats of the Sierra Madre. It was a most strategic location and it is small wonder that the Chiricahuas were determined not to be moved elsewhere.

Howard was a very different type of man from Colyer, and in spite of the strong prejudice in Arizona against him he was successful in reaching Cochise and in making peace with him.¹⁹ And yet the settlement was not decisive, for the Apache chief won his point that they should have a reservation in the Chiricahua mountains; and later (as we shall see) he insisted that no promise had been given Howard that they would refrain from raiding across the line into Mexico.

The mission of General Howard was not confined to dealing with Cochise. He consulted freely with the citizens of the territory and while many differences of opinion persisted, his visit did result in better mutual understanding between them and the country at large.

Howard visited the posts; did much to encourage the submissive bands; made treaties between Apaches and their

19. See Howard's own account as told by Lockwood, *op. cit.*, 166-170. Later Bourke quoted Howard as claiming to have achieved his object "with a treaty and with prayer." Maj-Gen'l O. O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (1907), 120-121, explains "Grant's Peace Policy." After Grant became president in 1869, he appointed his former staff officer, Ely Parker, as head of the Indian Bureau; and then invited the various churches to recommend Indian agents and other employees, and a distribution of the agencies throughout the country was then made. "Many were reserved to the Roman Catholics, some assigned to the Methodists, some to the Episcopalians, some to the Presbyterians, some to the Baptists, Lutherans, and other denominations." The Dutch Reformed Society of New York nominated the agents in Arizona. (*Ibid.*, 177).

Pima and Papago foes; changed the Camp Grant reservation to the Gila, naming it San Carlos; and carried away some chiefs on a visit to Washington.

In the autumn (1872) he came back to complete his work, making several changes. He abolished the asylums at McDowell, Date Creek, and Beale Spring, permitting the Indians to choose homes at the other reservations.²⁰

As already indicated, the operations of the war department had been checked with the sending of Vincent Colyer, but late in 1871 General Crook was directed to proceed with his coercive measures—after February 1872. The general campaign which he had in view was delayed until late in the year, but meanwhile scouting continued from the various military posts and of these activities we are given some very interesting glimpses by several passages in Bourke's field notes. All of these are later entries, but they relate to this year.²¹

October 30th (1880) . . . Stanton has been recalling reminiscences of a trip we made together in Arizona, in 1872. General Crook was then organizing an armed force of Hualpai Indians to go out after the Apache Mojaves and had started out from Prescott for the reservation of the former tribe at Beale's Springs, leaving me to follow after with Col. Stanton. When we reached Camp Hualpai, or rather shortly after we had left there, we were assailed by a violent storm of wind and snow, in the Juniper Mountains. Our tents were blown down and fires almost drowned out. We managed to cook something and to warm ourselves by the sputtering embers before starting out to overtake Gen. Crook and his party who we knew were without rations.

We found them at Fort Rock, a miserable little station on the road near the Colorado river. We unloaded the pack-mules we had brought along and gave the welcome rations to our comrades. The people of the ranch, a couple of rough-fisted fellows, very good naturedly set about preparing some food for us, a task in which all of us helped either by suggestion or more active participation. Providentially, the number of cooks did not spoil the broth and the Irish stew, for such it was, proved to be most palatable.

20. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 564.

21. The first is an entry made while on a stage journey through Nebraska with Col. T. H. Stanton and two others, in notebook of "Aug. 21-Nov. 8, 1880," p. 784.

Our party, with some recent accessions, now comprised the ranch-men, Gen. Crook, Lt. Ross, A.D.C., Major Mason, 5th. Cav., Lt. Frank Michler, Dr. [Washington] Matthews, and myself and a real good jolly time we had. The ranchmen complained to Gen. Crook that the See-uinches and Hualpai-Supais,—two small bands living in the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, had run off between sixty and seventy head of their stock. I remember this particularly because these tribes are almost unknown to the white man. From Fort Rock, our expedition pushed on to the south of the Cerbat mountains to attack the Apache-Mojaves, but when we got to the Devil's Well, they sent in word that they were coming to surrender.

This Devil's Well merits a few words of description. It is a deep cup-shaped basin in the bosom of lofty mountains, having at its base a spring of pure fresh water which flows into the Bill Williams Fork of the Colorado, through the Santa Maria. Here we found ourselves in presence of two confronting civilizations: the Spanish, with its wealth of devotion and religious feeling prompting the dedication of each rivulet and mountain peak to some gentle saint; and the American, with its immense personality seeking to commemorate the discoverer in the Discovery. Who can tell what zealous friar or mail-clad soldier first named the Holy Mary? But there can be no such want of certainty as to who first saw the Bill Williams. And this, I said, is really an exemplification of strongly-developed national traits; the Santa Maria and the Bill Williams.

While we were awaiting the arrival of the Apache-Mojaves, our Hualpai and Chimahuevi allies made night hideous with their howling. Lauriano, the cook in our pack train, worked like a beaver, to prepare appetizing dishes and certainly did wonders, altho' his combinations of beans, tomatoes, chile, cheese and bacon-grease might strike an American as a trifle peculiar. He had a rich, powerful voice and a correct musical ear and was not at all loth to sing when called upon, as he frequently was, to do so. I can hear him yet starting up the pretty madrigal:

"Caballero, por ventura
Conocía á mi marido?"

a dainty little bit of sentiment which goes on to recount the inquiry addressed to a returned soldier by a beautiful young widow, whose husband had never returned from the war

with France. She wishes to learn if, by chance, this cavalier had ever met her husband and goes on to tell how noble, strong, handsome and brave he was.

The cavalier replies that he certainly had known such a man, but that he was a traitor and coward and as such had suffered a well-merited death; after saying which of course, he sues for the widow's hand. She scornfully repels his advances, indignantly refutes the aspersions cast upon her husband and expresses her determination to sell all her jewelry and trinkets and retire with her little daughter to a nunnery.

Then the stranger discloses himself as her husband who has been seven years a prisoner in a French castle, and the song concludes with an outburst of endearment from both husband and wife. It was very pretty in music and in sentiment and was the piece most frequently demanded by officers when sitting around the packer's camp-fire. Colonel Mason and Lt. Michler were especially fond of it, the latter being able to sing it quite well. I at first thought of writing it down here, but as I cannot give the music for it and a translation of the words would be necessary anyhow, I have spared myself some trouble by giving merely a synopsis, as above.

At the Devil's Well, the first band of the Apache-Mojaves, some one hundred and twenty-five in number, made their submission under their old chief, Ah-cu-la-huata and Enacinyusa—(The Setting Sun and the Red Rabbit). The whole tribe looked like a panorama of rag doll babies, but the two chiefs vied with the glories of Solomon in their rainment of army officer's cast-off uniforms. I wonder what the dapper lieutenants who once sported those epaulettes, shoulder-straps and gold-bedizened coats would have felt to see them covering those two old sore-eyed, dirty-faced and frowsy-headed Indians! One of the young squaws with this band did not look to be more than 15 years old and yet she carried in her arms a little mite of a half-frozen baby which she told me by signs was only seven sleeps old. This she had carried across the mountains, keeping up with the rest of her family, on their way in to surrender.

The Apache-Mojaves soon affiliated with our Hualpais, the two tribes being connected by marriage, but it was easy to see that our younger Indian soldiers held themselves a little above their un-uniformed relatives.

Corporal "Joe", a bright boy, made it a point to come

up every night to General Crook to get orders for the Hualpai soldiers just as he saw Colonel Mason do for the white soldiers.

This particular band of Apache-Mojaves afterwards lived with the Hualpais at Beale's Springs, where under my old friend, Tommy Byrne, they remained at peace with our people. Tommy had four of the boys "on duty" at his mess. The weather was so fearfully hot, they discarded all clothing except moccasins and breech-clout. I was very much amused the first time I took lunch at that mess to see these four naked boys file in and solemnly take station behind our seats, each one armed with a long green branch to drive away flies.

July 7th (1879) . . . The Post-trader at Fort Hartsuff²² formerly occupied the same position at the post of "Beale's Springs," Arizona, where I met him in 1871, 2 and 1873. Beale's Springs will always hold a high rank in my estimation as one of the meanest places on God's foot-stool. It was at that time garrisoned by a small company of the 12th Infantry, under command of Captain Thomas Byrne. The Reservation and Agency of the Hualpai Indians were established at this point and troops were stationed there to protect the Agent, afford shelter to travellers and keep up a show of force. How inadequate this was may be seen from one fact. The Hualpais numbered not far from four hundred warriors, noted for their daring, celerity and physical endurance. Their country extended up to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado and included some of the lateral gashes which cut into the bosom of the earth fully as deeply as the principal chasm.

In a whole year, the entire 8th Cavalry, under an energetic and skilful commander, Maj. Wm. Redwood Price, had pursued this little band from crag to crag and cañon to cañon, the Hualpais finally consenting to Peace not because they did not have the advantage of the troops in nearly every engagement, but because they were tired of war.

It is related of this campaign, that mountain howitzers were brought into service to shell the Hualpais from one of their strongholds. One shell is known to have killed two and wounded three of the enemy, but in this manner. Three years after the 8th Cavalry had left Arizona, a small hunting party of young Hualpai bucks found one of these shells in

22. In Nebraska. The excerpt is from the notebook of "March 11-July 11, 1879."

the mountains. They picked it up, examined it and satisfied themselves that it must be hollow; but how to get to the inside of the iron sphere was something beyond their power. At last, the idea occurred to them that they had better *cook* it in their fire; so they thrust it in the ashes and sat around in a circle awaiting developments which soon came in the shape of a tremendous explosion, knocking two of them to Kingdom Come and covering the others with ashes, sand and scars.

When I first went to Beale's Springs with General Crook in November 1871, the Hualpais were in a half-satisfied sort of a condition, ready to break out into open war upon the smallest incentive.

Captain Byrne had already won their respect for his honesty, their implicit confidence in his word—but they didn't fear his power. Captain Byrne was determined that they should look up to him as the representative of the whole power of the Government. Calling all the chiefs and warriors to a grand council, he addressed them in words which I put down, as nearly as memory allows, as they flowed from his lips while giving his account of the affair to General Crook. "Charlie, sez oi, (Hualpai Charley was the principal one of the disaffected Indians) ar yez fur pace, Charlie, sez oi, or fur war-r, Charlie, sez oi." "Oh Cap'n," sez he to me, sez he, "me damgud Injun." "That's roight, Charlie, sez oi, thet's right, because, Charlie, sez oi, av yez iz fur war-r-r, sez oi, oi'll move out agin yiz, with moi *whole command*, sez oi, and in a month, Charlie, sez oi, there won't be a dam Wallapoop left aloive."

"Tommy Byrne" was a fine old soldier, one who loved his profession and felt a great pride in his position;—his one failing was an over-indulgence in alcohol which he strictly contended he took only as "medicine," for the "*neur-algy*". I think I can yet see the old man, narrating his interview to Gen. Crook, his face flushed with excitement, making a fine contrast to his iron-gray locks and flowing snowy beard.

I have purposely rambled out of my path to jot down these reminiscences, suggested by my meeting with Mr. Moore, because I have always regretted very keenly that I did not more completely keep my journals, note and scrap books during the period of my service in Arizona and New Mexico. Captain Byrne played a by no means insignificant part in the task of reducing the Indians of that wild country

to submission. He had acted well during the [Civil] war, was wounded and had been a prisoner in Libby, for a great many months. Under his administration, the little post at Beale's Springs was rapidly pushed to completion, if that can be styled complete which hasn't a blade of grass, a stick of timber and but a small amount of drinkable water. All day long and all year through the fierce rays of the sun beat down upon that mass of black lava, sending the thermometer away up above par and making the half-roasted garrison sigh for a flight to the timber-crested mountain range of Cerbat, 15 miles to the eastward.

Here "Old Tommy" remained with his "Wallapoos," doing all that mortal could do to preserve friendly relations with them and to prevent war. Nothing gave him greater satisfaction than to see his wards advancing in the habits of civilization; the most that any of them did was to assume some teamster's cast-off shirt or doff [don?] a rejected old slouch hat. Paper collars were particularly affected by them, and the contrast between this emblem of a partial civilization and the brass ear-rings, or bare legs, of total savagery impressed itself upon the beholder in an instant.

The squaws of this tribe were perfectly wild for castor oil, smacking their lips after every dose as if they had been partaking of honey. They didn't use it for its medicinal qualities but as a delicacy, and almost drove the post surgeon wild by their importunate demands to be supplied with the drug.

"Tommy", in course of time, came to be a terror to the grand army of scoundrels and "dead-beats" who surround an Indian Reservation, like vultures flocking to banquet upon a putrid carcass. Men caught selling whiskey to the Indians never asked him for any mercy; they knew that they had none to receive.

On one occasion, "Tommy" and a detachment of his men surprised an establishment all ready for business, in a secluded ravine. The party was not exactly on the Reservation, but their intentions were obvious and as the Hualpai chiefs themselves had lodged the complaint, Captain Byrne lost no time in considering legal technicalities, but summarily seized and destroyed every particle of property and turned the rascals adrift with a total loss on their investment. In fact, the whiskey was the property of a man named Hardy, who lived on the Colorado river near Fort Mojave and was a sort of a contractor, speculator, Congres-

sional candidate, farmer and anything else you please. These men were either selling the vile stuff on his account or else having purchased it from him felt that they had a right to claim his interposition to secure "redress" from Captain Byrne.

Hardy rather prided himself upon his legal knowledge and thought he would have an interview with the military commandant and brow-beat him into paying some damages to his clients. But he reckoned on false premises: "old Tommy" wasn't to be bull-dozed by anybody. "But what right had you, Captain Byrne," demanded Hardy, "to destroy that whiskey?" "Roight! Roight! ez it?" said the thoroughly exasperated Captain, "Roight! Dam yer sowl! Aint oi monarch ov all I survey?" Hardy beat an inglorious retreat, but after that, always used to say that "Tommy Byrne" was the "damnedest fool he ever saw."

I don't wish to crowd the pages of this journal too much with anecdotes of my old friend, reserving a more complete description of him and his peculiarities until a more appropriate occasion. A goodly volume could be filled with anecdotes of himself and his Hualpai friend, Charlie, Seguanya, Levy-Levy, Sharum, Corporal Joe, and old head-men like "Enya-cui-yu-say" and "Ahcoo-la-wahta."

Communication with the Hualpais was ordinarily kept up through Johnny Quina, the son of a laundress, who, not having any white play-mates, naturally took to associating with the young savages and used to run around with them, in a condition closely bordering on nudity.

It was my lot to have to remain at Beale's Springs for 4 days in mid-summer. The heat was not great for that place, only 110 degrees F. in the shade, but each lump of lava glowed with heat like the slag from an iron-furnace. We didn't have a thing to do; too hot to drill; no shade to shelter us, no mail to give us occupation. Those who played poker did so, I got a pack of cards and wore them out playing "solitaire." This kept me from thinking of myself. Being able to play the game fairly, I succeeded with it very often, altho' I came near catching myself cheating several times. . .

(to be continued)

FR. MARCOS DE NIZA

By HENRY R. WAGNER

IN Number two of the first volume of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW Percy M. Baldwin published a translation of the account of Marcos de Niza. In his introductory remarks he stated that Niza was the first white man *indisputably* to enter New Mexico. Dr. Baldwin was evidently not aware of what I had written on the subject in my *Spanish Southwest*, so I directed a communication to the editor which appeared in the following number to the effect that I, for one, did dispute the fact. I did not, however, enter into my reasons for this statement expecting to elaborate the subject later. The matter escaped my mind and it was only recently that I noticed my remarks on the subject in the REVIEW. As I have continued my interest in Niza I now present more fully my views, believing that the subject has not been approached with the documentary evidence which has come to light in the last twenty or more years. I am of the opinion that the accuracy of Niza's story has been taken entirely too much for granted. The question is largely one of the credibility of the man, and to determine this we can only rely on the record of his life and services.

Before proceeding to examine in detail his own account and the circumstances surrounding the journey I wish to set down what I have been able to find out about the man himself, and his earlier career. That is little enough. For some reason which we may suspect but not know, his contemporaries had very little to say about him and the early chroniclers of the Franciscan order even still less. A general statement usually found is that he was a native of Nice in the Duchy of Savoy. For this reason it has been generally supposed that he was an Italian. We have, however, positive evidence to the contrary. An Augustinian in Mexico, Gerónimo Ximénez de San Estéban, who knew Niza wrote a letter in October, 1539, in which he stated that "it is a year

from the past month of September that a friar of San Francisco, French by nationality, departed from this city of Mexico in search of a country of which the governors of these parts have had notice but have not been able to find." I shall have occasion later to refer to this letter but the statement that the friar, that is Niza, was French is in my view conclusive. There are other reasons also, less conclusive, for thinking that he was French. Gonzaga in his *Origine Seraphicae Religionis*, Rome 1587, states that he was born in the province of Aquitaine and this was repeated by later writers of the same order. The Franciscan province of Aquitaine occupied the south central portion of France and Toulouse was the center of it; Nice on the contrary belonged to the province of Genoa or perhaps, at that time, to St. Ludovicus, usually called Narbonne, and which separated the province of Genoa from that of Aquitaine. It is true that the statement of Gonzaga is in all probability taken from Pedro Oroz's lost *Varones Venerables de esta provincia*¹ to which Gonzaga had access. Gerónimo Mendieta, who also no doubt made use of this, states, however, that he was a native of Nice. While Gonzaga adopted the rest of the statement of Oroz as copied by Mendieta he omitted that part perhaps because he had better information.

The name by which Fray Marcos was usually known, Marcos de Niza, would of course indicate that he was a native of Nice, unless we should be warranted in assuming that he adopted the name for some other reason when he entered the order. This was by no means an uncommon procedure but there could hardly be a good reason why a Frenchman should take the name of an Italian town, because Nice at that period was an Italian town, although it no doubt had French inhabitants, being so near the border

1. In his *Capítulos de la Historia Franciscana*, Mexico, 1933, Fernando Ocoranza gives an account of this work with a list of its contents, among which will be found a life of Niza. The work was written in 1585 by Pedro Oroz, one of the most conspicuous members of the Franciscan order in Mexico at that time. Beristain mentions the work and states that it was translated into Latin and published by Gonzaga. Probably Gonzaga only made extracts from it.

of France. Indeed, that may be the explanation. He may have been born in Nice of French parents who for some reason or other had come there and who sent him back to their native country to be educated. According to Gonzaga, "he professed in 1531 and then started for New Spain but stopped in Santo Domingo from where he went to Peru, recently conquered. Not finding there the means to convert the natives he came to New Spain and the province of Santo Evangelio."

In order to test this assertion it will be necessary to examine the chronology of the conquest of Peru although that is by no means settled. It was only in January, 1531, that Francisco Pizarro captured Tumbez and not until September (Prescott says May), 1532, that he started south leaving Sebastian Benalcazar in San Miguel. November 16 he captured Atahualpa.² During this period very few recruits arrived beyond Benalcazar, who seems to have joined Pizarro from Nicaragua some time before Pizarro reached Puna at the end of 1530. In February or March 1534, Pedro de Alvarado arrived accompanied by Niza. To suppose therefore that Niza had gone to Peru from Santo Domingo by way of Panama, or even Guatemala, he necessarily had to return to Guatemala before January 23, 1534, the day when Alvarado sailed from Realejo in Nicaragua. Bartolomé de Las Casas went to Peru, according to his biographers, early in 1532, from Realejo in Nicaragua, on a ship containing small reinforcements and some supplies for Pizarro.³ He carried a *cédula* from the king directed to Pizarro and his partners about their conduct towards the Indians, and it is stated that he presented this to Pizarro and Diego Almagro who promised to obey it. Las Casas

2. The chronology is taken from Volume I of Pedro Pizarro's *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru* translated by Philip Ainsworth Means, New York, 1921. I assume that Mr. Means has given this matter profound study and I accept his results although they differ from mine.

3. Perhaps he accompanied Hernando de Soto who must have arrived in the early part of 1532. Herrera in his *Historia General*, Decada IV, Lib. VII, says that Benalcazar arrived with Mogrovejo de Quiñones at Puerto Viejo while Pizarro was there, that is in 1530.

then returned to Nicaragua. The only trouble with this story is that Almagro was in Panama at the time and did not reach Pizarro until the close of December, 1532, or in February, 1533. This is but a sample of the little agreement we find between contemporary evidence and the facts cited by the biographers of both Las Casas and Niza. As far as Niza is concerned the matter is further complicated by a pious fiction which arose in later years that he was the founder with eleven others of the Franciscan province of the Doce Apóstoles in Peru. There seems to be no contemporary evidence whatever as to the foundation of this province. None of the Franciscan chroniclers was able to produce any and consequently they fell into grievous errors.⁴ Even Gonzaga, who ought to have known, states that the Franciscan convent in Lima was founded by Pizarro in 1530,⁵ whereas a matter of fact Lima itself was not founded until the early part of 1535. When the province finally emerged from obscurity it was a custodia of that of Santo Evangelio in Mexico, a clear proof that it had been founded by friars from that province, although not necessarily from Mexico itself because at that time Guatemala and Nicaragua were both included in the province of Santo Evangelio. There is not a single contemporary reference to Niza's being in Peru to be found at all but we know by his own statement that he went there in January, 1534, with Alvarado. Whether or not he returned with Alvarado in the latter part of the year we do not know, but he was certainly back September 25, 1536, when he appeared as a witness for Alvarado in an investigation held in Santiago, Guatemala, regarding Alvarado's expedition to Peru. The question is of considerable importance because a very long time later several books relating to the early history of Peru were attributed to Niza by a Jesuit writer, P. Juan Velasco.

Niza made what we might call an affidavit regarding what he claimed to have seen in Peru. It was published by

4. This subject is dealt with at considerable length in my *Spanish Southwest*, page 48.

5. *Op. cit.* 1311-12.

Las Casas in the *Breve Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias Occidentales*, first printed in Seville in 1552. I quote what he has to say on the subject. In speaking of the cruelty to the Indians in Peru Las Casas says:

I wish here to refer to a few matters of this kind which a friar of San Francisco saw in the early days and signed with his name sending copies by way of those parts and others to these kingdoms of Castile. I have in my possession a copy with his own signature which reads as follows:

"I, Fray Marcos de Niza, of the order of San Francisco, commissary⁶ over the friars of that order in the province of Peru who were some of the first Christians to enter those provinces, speak, giving a truthful account of certain matters which I saw with my own eyes in that country, more especially about the treatment and conquest of the natives.

"In the first place I was an eyewitness and through a certain experience found out that the Indians of Peru are the most benevolent people that have been found among the Indians and are attached to and friendly with the Christians.

"I saw that they gave the Spaniards an abundance of gold, silver, and precious stones, and everything asked of them which they possess and could be of service. The Indians never made war on them but were always friendly except when they had some occasion on account of the bad treatment and cruelties practised on them. They received the Spaniards with all kindness and honor in their towns, furnishing them with food and whatever slaves they asked for service.

"I also am a witness and give testimony to the fact that, without these Indians giving any cause or occasion therefor, the Spaniards, as soon as they entered their country, and after the great lord, Atahualpa, had given the Spaniards more than two millions in gold and all the country in his possession without any resistance, burned the said Atahualpa, who was the lord of all the country, and after him burned alive his chief general, Cochilamaca, who had come peacefully to the governor with other principal men.

6. This office was one conferred by a superior authority, usually to some friar who had charge of a party. It always implied a delegated authority. Later Niza signed himself *vice-comissario* but Zumárraga in his letter of April 4, 1537, says that the friars in Peru elected him *custodio*. If Niza went to Peru with any delegated authority that fact has not yet come to light, and the statement that he was elected *custodio* would negative the idea.

Also a few days after this they burned Chamba, another very important lord of the province of Quito without any fault committed by him nor for any reason. They also burned Chapera, the lord of the Canarios, unjustly. Also they burned the feet and tortured in many other ways Aluis, [Huyes in Velasco] the great lord of those in Quito, to force him to reveal where the gold of Atahualpa was, a treasure of which it seems he knew nothing. They also burned in Quito Coçopango, the governor of all the provinces of Quito, who came peacefully by reason of certain demands made on him by Sebastian Benalcazar, the captain of the governor, because he did not give as much as they asked of him. They burned him with many other chiefs and principal men. As far as I could make out the idea of the Spaniards was to leave no lord in the whole country.

"I also [saw?] that the Spaniards collected a great number of Indians and shut up in three large houses as many as these would hold, and then set fire to them and burned them all, although they had not done the least thing against the Spaniards or given the least cause for it. It so happened that a priest, named Ocaña, rescued a boy from the fire in which he was burning. Along came another Spaniard, took him out of his hands and threw him into the middle of the fire where he was reduced to ashes like the rest. This same Spaniard who had thrown the Indian into the fire, while returning to the camp the same day, fell suddenly dead in the road and I was of the opinion that they should not give him burial.

"I also affirm and I myself saw with my own eyes Spaniards cut off hands, noses and ears of Indian men and women without any reason except that it pleased them to do so, and in so many places and regions that it would take a long time to enumerate them.

"I saw the Spaniards set dogs on the Indians in order to tear them to bits and I saw them so do to many. I also saw them burn so many houses and towns that I would not know how to recount the number but there were many. It is also true that they took by the arms children at the breast and threw them as far as they could and other outrages and cruelties without purpose, which caused great horror, with other innumerable atrocities which I saw and would take long to recount.

"I also saw that they called the chiefs and principal

Indians to come in, assuring them of peace and promising them safety and when they arrived they at once burned them. They even burned two in my presence, one in Andon and the other in Tumbalá,⁷ and I could not prevent them from burning them no matter how much I preached to them.

"In God and my conscience, so far as I can understand, it was for no other reason than this bad treatment, as appears clear to everybody, that the Indians of Peru rose in revolt, and with much reason as had been given them for it. It was because they have not been treated truthfully nor have the promises given them been kept, but contrary to all reason and justice they have been destroyed tyrannically with the whole country, that they determined rather to die than to suffer such treatment. I also say that by the account of the Indians there is much more gold hidden than has come to light, and this they have not wished to disclose on account of the injustices and cruelties which the Spaniards have practised on them nor will they disclose it while they receive such treatment; instead they wish to die like their predecessors.

"In all this the Lord, our master, has been much offended and his majesty badly served and defrauded by losing the country which could furnish a plentiful supply of food to all Castile, and which it will be extremely difficult and expensive in my opinion to recover." [Las Casas then continues:]

All these are the formal words of the said friar and they come also signed by the bishop of Mexico, affirming that all this was what the father, Fray Marcos, had said. It must be considered here what this father said he saw, because it occurred over fifty or 100 leagues of country and took place nine or ten years ago, as it was the very beginning and they were very few in number. At the sound of gold four or five thousand Spaniards went there and extended over many and great kingdoms and provinces for more than 500 and 700 leagues, which they have entirely

7. The mention here of his presence at these burnings would seem to indicate that he had not been present at the others. I cannot locate Andon but Tumbalá was the chief of the natives in the island of Puna, although his name is spelled differently in other accounts, for instance, Tomalá by Herrera. There is no other record that he was burned but if so it must have happened while Pizarro was in the island and consequently, according to Means' chronology, in December 1530, or January 1531. According to Means, Soto had already arrived and Herrera states he arrived while Pizarro was at Puna, although other chroniclers state that he arrived after Pizarro captured Tumbez.

desolated, perpetrating such deeds as above related and others more ferocious and cruel.

Las Casas assures us that the *Breve Relación* was finished in November 1542, so we can assume from the last paragraph quoted that Niza had seen these things in 1532 or 1533. It is not easy of course to pick out from such a long tirade any special event that can be identified from contemporary evidence beyond the burning of Atahualpa and the actions of Benalcazar in Quito. The execution of Atahualpa (he was burned) took place August 29, 1533. It is hardly possible that Niza was there at the time, nevertheless he states that he was a witness to it. Benalcazar came to Quito about January, 1534, or perhaps a month or two later. Nothing can be more certain than that Niza was not with him then or later, except possibly after the summer of 1534. No doubt, he did see many of the cruelties which he recites as a witness while he was in Peru with Alvarado and of course if he had been there before he might have seen others which he relates. It is impossible therefore to be certain from this account whether or not he was in Peru in 1532 or early 1533; we have only Las Casas' word for it, but he should have known. The Inca ransom was assembled in May 1533 and distributed June 17. It was as a result of this enormous booty that Alvarado undertook to invade the country. News of it therefore must have reached Guatemala some months before January, 1534, in order to have given Alvarado time to assemble his force and make the necessary arrangements. P. Juan Velasco tells us that Alvarado before going to Peru sent Garcia Holguin with two ships to spy out the coast, and that he came back to tell Alvarado of the great riches of Quito. It seems to me that Niza may have returned with him.

As previously remarked P. Juan Velasco wrote a history of the conquest of Quito. It was dedicated to Antonio Porlier, one of the Spanish ministers and dated at Faenza, Italy, March 15, 1789. In some way this manuscript, obviously written in Spanish, came into the possession of Henri

Ternaux and was published by him in a French translation in Paris, 1840, as Tome VII of his second series of *Voyages Relations* etc., with the title *Histoire du Royaume de Quito*. This formed the second part of Velasco's manuscript. Velasco was one of the Jesuits who had been expelled from Quito in 1767 and had accumulated some original manuscript documents on which he based his work. Among these were several he stated to have been written by Niza: *Conquista de la provincia del Quito*; *Las dos lineas de los Incas, y de los Scyris en las provincias del Peru y Quito*; *Ritos y Costumbres de los Indios*; and *Cartas Informativas de lo obrado en las provincias del Peru y del Cuzco*. He does not say where he found or left these documents, nor does Ternaux state whether or not he owned the work of Velasco himself, which seems to have been in Madrid in 1840. The only other reference I have ever found to the Niza documents is in Antonio Alcedo's manuscript bibliography of America in the John Carter Brown Library. The text of Velasco's work is interlarded with citations from various sources and occasionally by a quotation from one. These, besides Niza's works frequently cited, comprise the well-known printed histories of Peru and several in manuscript. Before noting the references to Niza's works it may be as well to state that sometimes he mentions Niza and his movements without giving any authority; presumably, however, he must have taken the facts from some one of Niza's writings as none of the other printed books mentions Niza, and I have not been able to locate the unpublished ones.

In the bibliographical notes in Tome I Velasco states that Niza came to Peru with Pizarro and then went to New Spain. On page 306 he states that Niza came with Benalcazar and Hernando de Soto, who each had a ship, evidently before Pizarro left Tumbez March 16, 1532. He quotes Niza on the meeting with Atahualpa (322); on the battle with Rumi-Nahui (336); on the division of the spoil which he says took place July 25 (360); on the death of Atahualpa (378). He then proceeds to detail the movements of Benal-

cazar who he says left San Miguel for Quito at the beginning of October 1533 and although he does not state that Niza accompanied him, we infer as much from occasional citations from Niza's works. It is, however, necessary to explain that an entirely erroneous account of Alvarado's movements is given, and as we know that Niza was with Alvarado he consequently could hardly have been responsible for the account. Alvarado reached Puerto Viejo about March 10 and after crossing the mountains made his famous deal with Almagro August 26. Alvarado returned to Guatemala before May 12, 1535, in fact, probably by January. In Tome II we have other interesting references to Niza and his journey with Benalcazar, who as noted left San Miguel in October 1533. Niza was appointed chaplain by Benalcazar having gone to San Miguel aghast at the cruelties perpetrated at Caxamalca. He had then been in Peru a year and had learned enough of the language to serve as a passably good interpreter. Benalcazar entered Quito at the end of December and returned to Riobamba at the beginning of January 1534 and remained there until May 1534. Benalcazar (no date given) sent two soldiers to San Miguel to report to Pizarro, and Niza accompanied them with the pretext that he wished to send some friars to Quito, as several had come and he had been appointed commissary general in Peru. However, he went to New Spain disgusted at Benalcazar's failure to restrain Ampudia. At San Miguel he is said to have *rejoined* Alvarado, although no mention in Velasco's narrative can be found of his ever having previously been with Alvarado. Many direct citations are made to Niza's works and even a quotation from what is called an *Información á la corte y al obispo Zumárraga de Mexico* about Ampudia's burning the feet of various Inca chiefs. While the stories are found in Las Casas' *Breve relación* no mention is made there of Ampudia.

From this mass of contradictory statements I believe we can extract a few facts for which some basis can be found. Niza came from Guatemala with Benalcazar before

the arrival at Puna. He did accompany Pizarro to Tumbez and on his march south, witnessed the capture of Atahualpa and the division of the spoils. That he witnessed the death of Atahualpa or accompanied Benalcazar to Quito is most unlikely. After the contract with Almagro was made in August, he may or may not have gone to Xauxa, but more likely remained with Benalcazar until he returned to Guatemala with Alvarado, but he may have remained longer. A number of the occurrences in Quito related by Velasco which are attributed to Niza took place in the latter part of 1534 and in 1535, but the positive statement that Niza left Benalcazar and rejoined Alvarado could hardly have come from any other source than from Niza himself. That Niza again returned to Quito is most improbable. I take it therefore that as he had come with Alvarado he returned with him, and what he had to say of the subsequent events was derived from some other source.

September 25, 1536, Niza gave evidence in an investigation in Guatemala by which Alvarado hoped to escape the blame for conducting a forbidden expedition to Peru. As was customary in such investigations the witnesses were hand picked and a set of questions was submitted to them to which it was known in advance what answer they would give. The main object was to prove that he had not started for Peru at all but had been obliged to go there by stress of bad weather, but incidentally it was also sought to prove, what was no doubt true, that Alvarado had come to peaceful terms with Almagro. There were four witnesses called, among them Marcos de Niza. It is necessary to give the interrogatories as the answers do not disclose their nature.

No. 1 Question: May they be asked if they know Adelantado Don Pedro Alvarado, Marshal Diego de Almagro and Francisco Pizarro, governors of Peru, and if they have knowledge of the country and the coast of Peru.

Answer: He said he did.

No. 2 Question: If they knew, believed, saw, or heard say that Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado departed from the Puerto de la Posesion in the province of Nicaragua in the

month of January, 1534, with ten ships carrying 500 Spaniards and 230 horses to proceed to the South Sea.

Answer: He said he knew all this and knew it because he saw it and that there were 223 horses.

No. 3 Question: If they know etc. that on making sail with these ships the adelantado ordered the pilots and masters to sail to the southwest, by which route they could not reach the country of Peru, expecting to find some islands in the sea to the south where they could leave some of the force he took and go on in search of lands and rich islands.

Answer: He said he knew it and being asked how he knew it he said it was because he was present and saw the adelantado give the order in writing to the pilots.

No. 4 Question: If they knew that in following the direction of the southwest the ships were forced by lack of water, and contrary winds and currents which carried them into the Ensenada de Panama, to go to the land of Peru.

Answer: He said he knew this because he was with the said fleet.

No. 5 Question: Did they know that after the adelantado had reached the land of Peru he again undertook to sail with his ships in a southwest direction in order to keep away from the land of Peru but that with the strong currents and contrary winds he was forced to throw seventy odd horses overboard and return again to the land of Peru.

Answer: He stated that it is said the statement is correct that they threw into the sea eighty horses.

No. 6 Question: If they knew, etc. that after the adelantado had reached the land of Peru, because he could not do anything else, he endeavored to hunt for a way and road which would not bring him where Francisco Pizarro was through some very rugged mountains, plains and deserts filled with snow where the adelantado and all those with him thought they were going to perish from cold, as these *sierras* are so frigid and uninhabitable, that he was obliged to vary his journey and arrive at Quito because he could not do anything else and because the guides which he had with him were lacking or had fled, and where he found Marshal Diego de Almagro.

Answer: He stated that he knew about this and being asked how he knew he said that it was because he himself was present through all of it.

No. 7 Question: If they knew etc. that the adelantado on reaching the province of Quito sent to Marshal Diego de Almagro certain messengers and after the return of these

sent Father Fray Marcos of the Order of San Francisco by whom he sent to demand on the part of his majesty that he allow him to pass peacefully beyond his government because he did not wish to do any damage in the country either to the Spaniards or to the natives; that to these messengers Almagro responded that they should tell the adelantado that by no means should he pass onward through the said province of Quito and if he did he would break down the bridges and clear from the roads the food and supplies.

Answer: He stated that he knew what was asked of him and being asked how he knew he said that he himself was the messenger and they even told him that they would take him prisoner and send him to Castile.

No. 8 Question: If they know etc. that the adelantado in hopes of convincing Almagro sent him other messengers to demand what he previously had sent to demand; that by these he sent back to tell the adelantado the same as he had before and not to bother him with more importunities over the question, as by no means would he give him the passage requested.

Answer: He said that he knew this because he was present.

No. 9 Question: If they know etc. that the adelantado seeing that Marshal Diego de Almagro was not willing to allow him to pass forward by Quito agreed to come with all his men to Riobamba where Almagro was with all his men; that when he arrived about half a league from where he was stationed the adelantado sent to tell him not to be disturbed or alarmed because he did not come to make any trouble or to do any injury but to see him, and that he would come to talk with him with only a page, and that he should order lodging to be given that evening and that the next day in the morning he would proceed to talk with him.

Answer: He said that he knew what was contained in the interrogatory and being asked how he knew he said he went with the adelantado and saw what took place.

No. 10 Question: If they knew etc. that Marshal Almagro seeing the good attitude of the adelantado agreed to what had been asked of him and had him lodged near his camp and had him and all his men given supper; that the next day in the morning at daybreak the adelantado left his camp with only a page and Father Fray Marcos to go and discuss with the marshal as he had sent to tell him.

Answer: He said that he knew this and being asked how he knew it said it was because he saw it and was present.

No. 11 Question: If they know etc. that the adelantado, Pedro de Alvarado and Marshal Diego de Almagro, on meeting and talking together became very friendly and formed a company for all the country which was to be discovered beyond Cuzco and that Marshal Almagro agreed to give the adelantado 50,000 *pesos de oro* for the expenses which he had incurred in his fleet on the understanding that all the men who had been brought in it by the adelantado should remain with him and that within a year Almagro would give the adelantado 1500 men with which to make conquests and pass beyond Cuzco, from all of which the adelantado would give him a certain part both of the honor and of the profit which should be obtained. And if they know that all this was agreed to and sworn to between the above before four *escribanos* and was publicly proclaimed with trumpets, at which the men in both camps rejoiced greatly.

Answer: He said that he saw the adelantado and Diego de Almagro celebrate these contracts before the *escribanos* and that he saw that the *escribanos* who were Domingo de la Presa, Diego de Tapia, Espinosa and another whose name he does not remember, proclaimed this and read it in such a manner that those about heard it and that the trumpets were present and that all the Spaniards rejoiced. The witness heard the trumpets sound and also the *escribanos* declare that what was of Almagro was of the adelantado and what belonged to the adelantado belonged to Almagro and that all should know it.

No. 12 Question: If they know etc. that Marshal Diego de Almagro, after he had under his hand and banner all the force of the adelantado, was not willing to keep his word nor comply with anything which he had sworn and concerted to with the said adelantado and told Don Pedro de Alvarado to sell his fleet and go away and leave the country.

Answer: He declared that he knew what was asked and being asked how he knew he said because he saw that within four days he broke everything that had been agreed to.

No. 13 Question: If they know that the adelantado on seeing himself in such necessitous state, alone and without any force, because Almagro had it all under his command and at his orders, and that he owed a great sum of *pesos de oro*,

sold his ships to Diego de Almagro and Francisco Pizarro for 100,000 *pesos de oro* because he could not do anything else, and that he then went peacefully with Almagro from Riobamba to Xauja a matter of some thirty leagues to receive the payment for his ships.

Answer: He answered that he knew this and it was the truth because he saw it.

No. 14 Question: If they know etc. that the adelantado during all the time he was in the country of Peru did no damage in the land nor any evil or injury of any kind either to the Spaniards or to the Indians and natives of the country which the witnesses know because if any harm or damage had been committed or any act of force in the said Peru, it could not have happened to any of those mentioned unless the witnesses saw it, knew it or heard it spoken about.

Answer: He said he does not know more than that the adelantado took food and carriers and that the Spaniards committed no outrage and he affirms what is just said, and it is the truth by the promise which he made, and signed it with his name, and what this contains was a public matter to all the Spaniards who were in the company of the adelantado and of Diego de Almagro. Fray Marcos de Niza.⁸

It must have been shortly after making this declaration that Niza went to Mexico. In a letter from Zumárraga dated April 4, 1537, to some person unknown but in Spain he states

that although we are much occupied in processions and giving thanks for the health of our king I immediately took Fray Marcos whom I had in my house and caused him to declare and sign what your worship will see, which will cause you more sorrow than the letter which I am writing to Dr. Bernal, having heard part of it. This father is a great religious person, worthy of credit, of approved virtue and of much religion and zeal, and whom the friars in Peru elected *custodio*. When they departed and some came here after seeing the crimes and cruelties of those who call themselves Christians he wrote me from Guatemala. I wrote him to come here and so he came. I took him to the viceroy and his worship sent his account to his majesty and those of the council. He and everybody have been so occupied in sermons and confessions that he could do no more up to the

8. Translated from the original in the Archivo General in Seville 2-2-1 (old number).

present time, although with urgency some few are now going, in which he speaks as an eyewitness and your worship has to give a copy of these two into the hands of the emperor, our master, communicating it also to Dr. Bernal, to persuade strongly his Catholic heart to put a stop to these conquests which are opprobrious injuries to our Christianity and Catholic faith. In all this country there have been nothing but as many butcheries as there have been conquests and if his majesty should intrust the matter to his viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, I believe that they will cease. . .

At the end is a postscript in which Zumárraga says:

It seems to me that what the father says constitutes reasonable proof for my proposition but I will send a more exhaustive proof.⁹

It appears beyond reasonable doubt that the document forwarded by Zumárraga was the one referred to by Las Casas and which he incorporated in his *Relación breve*. What Las Casas might have had to do with it is hard to say. He was then in Guatemala or Nicaragua but no doubt had talked with Niza before the latter went to Mexico. Las Casas himself came to Mexico in the spring of 1539 and it was while on this journey that Motolinía had such hard things to say about him and his passage through Tlascala.¹⁰ He went to Spain, not in 1539 as is usually stated but about April, 1540. In another letter of Zumárraga's dated April 17, 1540, he says that

two friars of great esteem, of great zeal for souls, desirous of serving his majesty and worthy of being heard and believed have left here to kiss the hands of your majesty solely for what they can humanly do in their desire to serve your majesty to inform you of matters here as persons who

9. Translated from the original in the Archivo General in Seville 2-2-4/4 (old number). The letter is of further interest because of the indication that Zumárraga had already protested to the court about the treatment of the Indians. The letter is published in *Documentos Inéditos de los Siglos XVI para la Historia de Mexico* by P. Mariano Cuevas, Mexico 1914, page 83.

10. This famous letter dated January 2, 1555, has been several times published, first by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in his *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tomo I.

go well informed. One is named Fray Bartolomé de las Casas of the Order of Santo Domingo, who since he was a *clérigo* in these parts has greatly served both God and your majesty, the other is named Fray Jacobo de Tastera of the Order of San Francisco who was *custodio* here, and who after his triennial wished to travel through the very remote provinces where there was no notice of the Word of God, etc.

It would appear from the first part of these remarks that the friars might have left some time before but in the subsequent part of the letter it is obvious that the letter was expected to go in the same ship as the friars.¹¹

Nothing more is heard of Niza until September, 1538, when he was commissioned by the viceroy to make a trip in search of the walled towns by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca which have now become famous. There are many strange things connected with the journey of Cabeza de Vaca. He and his party had reached Mexico in the summer of 1536, and over two years had now elapsed, and no active steps had yet been taken to verify his story. This is not the place to consider that memorable journey but it appears from Mendoza's own statement that he had endeavored to persuade Andrés Dorantes, one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions to return from Vera Cruz to Mexico City where he induced him to remain in New Spain. In his letter to the emperor of December, 1538,¹² Mendoza said that he had agreed with Dorantes to proceed with a party of horsemen to explore more thoroughly the country through which he had wandered. For some reason, which Mendoza never explained, Dorantes never started. It became necessary therefore to find someone else and Niza was chosen to make the expedition. In the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* of Espasa it is stated that Niza was sent by Mendoza at the instance of Las Casas. This cannot be true because Las Casas was not in Mexico when Niza left. It is much more

11. Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, Mexico, 1881. Apéndice No. 27.

12. First printed in Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, *Terzo Volume*, Venice, 1556, Folio 355. It is not dated but was written in December 1538, or early 1539.

probable that he was sent at the instance of Zumárraga who, as we have just seen, had a very high opinion of him. There was some need for Mendoza to move quickly. Cortés was accumulating a force and ships which in the following spring sailed under the command of Francisco de Ulloa on precisely the same errand that Niza undertook to carry out. Mendoza did everything possible to prevent this expedition from sailing but without avail.

The instructions given Niza by Mendoza were written in Mexico probably in October or early November, 1538, and forwarded to Niza who was then in New Galicia with Francisco Vásquez de Coronado. He acknowledged receipt of them November 20. In these Mendoza states that

Coronado will go with you as far as San Miguel de Culiacán and if you then find that there is a way to pass farther on you will take with you Estéban de Dorantes as a guide together with the Indians who came with Dorantes and such others as you may collect in those parts, provided it seems to you and him that you should take them.

The general character of the instructions indicates that an attempt was being made to do some discovery without an armed force, which reminds us of the remarks addressed to the emperor by Zumárraga in his letter of 1537. He was also required to take possession for his majesty in the name of Mendoza and when he returned to Culiacán to send notice to him with the greatest secrecy. The original account with the instruction and affidavits signed and affirmed by Niza exists in the archives in Seville in 1-1-1/20, No. 5, Ramo 10. In reality it is an authenticated copy but signed by Niza himself as vice-comissario. It first appeared in print in Italian in 1556 in the third volume of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, folios 355-59. An English translation was published by Richard Hakluyt in the third volume of his *Principal Voyages*, pp. 356-373. It was also printed in the *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de America*, III, 324-351. Percy M. Baldwin's translation was made from this text. In its Italian form it is a very faithful translation

of the original with a few unimportant omissions and some interpollations.

Anyone who is at all familiar with early documents of the period will at once note the peculiarity of the original document. After the narrative there is an addition reciting that September 2, 1539, Niza appeared before the viceroy and the audiencia and stated that he affirmed and ratified as true the contents of the instructions and the relation preceding. In other words he swore to it although that is not the form which ecclesiastics used in such cases. A noticeable lack in the narrative, although not so unusual as the swearing to a relation of discovery, is an almost complete lack of dates with the exception that in the first paragraph he states that he left San Miguel March 7 and elsewhere speaks of May 9. At the end he states that on his return he went to Compostela where he found Coronado and from there wrote the viceroy and the provincial of the Franciscans that he had arrived and asking them to tell him what to do. No date is assigned to this letter but we know it reached Mexico before August 6 and probably before July 26.

The account has been several times translated into English besides the original translation from the Italian, but never to my knowledge except possibly in the Italian translation and in the French translation by Ternaux-Compans has the original text in the Archives of the Indies been used. The differences between this text and the one in *Tomo III* of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos* used by other translators are so slight, however, that it does not seem necessary to translate it anew. It is not generally recognized, however, that Antonio de Herrera in his *Historia General*, *Tomo III*, pp. 199-205 has given a very good account of it, taken without doubt from the original document. In fact in many respects it is better than the original because much of the verbiage of Fray Marcos has been eliminated. It contains all but a very few of the substantial facts and for that reason I include herewith a translation of it. Herrera

first gives a preliminary account in which he asserts that Mendoza undertook to make discovery by friars, following the opinion of his good friend, Bartolomé de Las Casas, not to do so with an armed force. This seems to be a bit of an anachronism as Las Casas had not yet reached Mexico. Then follow the instructions to Niza, very similar to those given to Diego de Zúñiga for an expedition up the coast and then he proceeds to quote from Niza changing the narrative into the third person.

CHAPTER VII

. . . With the aid of the Lord our Master,¹³ and the Virgin his Mother and of the Seraphic San Francisco, Fray Marcos de Niza departed from the town of San Miguel de Culiacan on the 7th of March of this year [1539], taking as his companions Fray Honorato, and Estevanico with the domesticated¹⁴ Indians as interpreters, and those of Petatlan,¹⁵ for which place he took the road, all with great contentment and joy, and finding along the way great presents of flowers, food and other things. Having rested three days in Petatlan, after having traveled the sixty leagues to there from San Miguel, and leaving his companion sick, he continued his journey through the favor of the Holy Spirit, many people joining him wherever he passed with joy and contentment and receiving him very well, and giving him of their food, although this was little because they said that it had been three years since they had harvested any. In all this part of the way, about thirty leagues¹⁶ from Petatlan, he found nothing worth mentioning except that some Indians came to him from the island which the Marqués del Valle discovered. By these it was ascertained to be an island because he saw them pass over a space of a half a league to the mainland in *balsas*. There also came to see him from another larger island farther on other Indians, from whom he heard a story that there were thirty other small islands inhabited by poor people who wore pearl shells hanging from their

13. Not in the original.

14. Not in the original.

15. The original speaks here of a town called Cuchillo, fifty leagues from that town, and from where the Indians had come to Culiacan.

16. Twenty-five or thirty in the original.

necks.¹⁷ They did not however display them.¹⁸ He continued his journey through an uninhabited country for four days with many Indians from the island and from the country which he left behind. Then he encountered some other Indians who looked at him with astonishment, because they had no information about Christians¹⁹ as they did not trade with those whom he had left behind on account of the region being uninhabited. They gave the father much food, touched his clothing²⁰ and called him a man from heaven. Through the interpreters he preached to them about the knowledge that they should have of God.²¹ They told him that four days' journey inland where the main range of mountains ended there was a level opening of much extent, where the people wore clothing, had vessels made of gold, which he showed to them, and that they wore it hanging from their ears and noses.²² As this opening was away from the coast and he could not leave that, according to the instructions which he carried, he left it for his return and traveled four²³ days among this same people until he reached the town named Vacapa, forty leagues from the sea.²⁴ In this he was well received and he stayed there until Easter, in the meantime sending persons to the sea by three ways. One of those who went was Estevanico de Orantes.²⁵

At the end of four days some messengers²⁶ came from Estevanico advising Father Fray Marcos to at once follow him as he had heard an account of a great country which they called Cíbola and was some thirty days' journey from where Estevanico was. One of the Indians whom Estevanico had sent confirmed this. The Indian said that there were seven great cities in that country which obeyed one master, with stone houses, one or two stories²⁷ high all side

17. Original "and also had maíz".

18. Original "although he showed them one as a sample."

19. This was incorrect, Spaniards from Culiacán had passed through this country several times previously.

20. *Sayota* in the original, but *Hayota* in Ramusio.

21. The original adds "and of his majesty in the land".

22. Original "and they had some little blades with which they scraped themselves and removed the sweat." To this Ramusio adds "the temples and walls were covered with it [gold] and they used it in all household utensils."

23. The original document has suffered some deterioration and especially on the folio at the upper right-hand corner where this word should be found. In transcribing it the number of days was omitted. In Ternaux-Compans it is three.

24. Original "two days before Passion Sunday".

25. Original "by another way".

26. Original "with a large cross".

27. Original "also three stories and that of the chief had four."

by side in order with the doorways very much ornamented with turquoises. The people, he said, wore clothing.²⁸ The father did not leave at once in order to await the messengers to the sea. They returned on Easter relating what was said above about the islands, and that they were thirty-four in number. With them were some Indians²⁹ from these islands who carried to present to the father some great cowhide shields; well worked and which covered them from head to feet, with some holes in the shields so that they could see from behind them. On this day three Indians arrived of the tribe they called "Pintados,"³⁰ with their arms and breasts decorated. These live towards the east, and go very near the Seven Cities of which they gave an advice. Having dismissed the people from the coast he departed from Vacapa the second day of Easter week, with two Indians from the islands who wished to go with the father for eight days and with the three Pintados, by the road and the course which Estevanico was taking. On the third day he found more messengers of his who came to urge him on, confirming the account of those great and rich lands of Cíbola, the first of the Seven Cities. Farther on, he understood, passing by the Seven Cities, there were three kingdoms called Marata, Acus, and Tonteac, and that the people of these wore turquoises hanging from their ears and noses. By these Indians Father Fray Marcos was very well received. They gave him much food, brought the sick to him to be cured, over whom he said the Evangel. They gave him skins from Cíbola, well tanned.

In another town, the Pintados still following him, they received him well and gave him the same account of Cíbola. Here he found a large cross which Estevanico had left as a sign that the news of the good land was increasing. They told him that he had left word that he would await him at the end of the first stretch of uninhabited land. Here he took possession of the country,³¹ and went on for five days,

28. Original "and turquoises in great abundance", and that farther on there were other provinces each one of which was larger than the Seven Cities.

29. Here there is quite an omission. The original states that the islands were inhabited by people who wore shells on their foreheads and were said to have pearls, and Ramusio adds, "much gold". It is also stated that Niza put down the names of the islands and towns in another paper. The people of the coast are said to have little food, like those of the islands, and that they trade with each other by way of *baleas*, and that here the coast runs directly to the north.

30. Original "because they had heard of me".

31. Original "and put up two crosses".

finding it always inhabited, great hospitality and many turquoises and cowskins. Here he found out that after two days' journey he would come on an uninhabited region which would require four days to pass and was without any means of subsistence, although already they had arranged to carry this and arrange some shelters. Before reaching the uninhabited country he found a fresh place where they were irrigating the fields with ditches. Many women came out to receive him dressed in cotton and cowskins which they consider the best dress. The chief of the town came out with these people and his two brothers, very well dressed in cotton and with turquoise necklaces. They presented him with cups, maize, turquoises and different other things, none of which he ever took. They touched his habit and told him that there was much of that material in Tontecac made from the hair of some small animals about the size of some Spanish greyhounds which Estéban had with him.

CHAPTER VIII

How Fray Marcos de Niza reached Cíbola and the story with which he returned, and how the Indians of Cíbola killed Estevanico.

On the following day, Father Fray Marcos entered the uninhabited country and during four days found food and huts where he could take shelter and then entered a valley containing many people. At the first place all the people came out to meet him dressed like those behind with turquoise necklaces and others in their noses and ears. The father found as much knowledge of Cíbola here as there is in New Spain of Mexico, and many people who had been in it.³² He also had here an account of the woolen cloth in Tontecac. As the seacoast was extending much to the north he wished to see it and found that in 36°³³ it turned to the west. Returning to continue his journey he went five days through that great valley inhabited by splendid people, of abundance and freshness, all from irrigation,³⁴ and that the people went to Cíbola to gain their livelihood. Here he found a native of that city who had fled from the governor

32. In the original here follows an account given by the natives of how the inhabitants of Cíbola built their houses. Niza asked if they had wings in order to get to the upper stories and they laughed and showed him a ladder.

33. The original "35°".

34. Original "sufficient to feed more than 300 horsemen (Ramusio 3000)".

who had placed in it the lord of the Seven Cities who had his seat in what is called "Ahacus." He was a man³⁵ of intelligence and desired to go with Father Fray Marcos in order that he might obtain pardon for him. He gave an account of the form of the city³⁶ and said that the others were like it. The principal one was Ahacus, while to the west³⁷ was the kingdom of Marata, where there once had been great towns with houses of stone and lime like in Cíbola but which was now very much diminished through the war which it had carried on with the lord of the Seven Cities. He said that the kingdom of Tontea³⁸ was very rich and very well inhabited where the people dressed in cloth and were civilized. There was also another very large kingdom called "Acus" whereas Ahacus was one of the Seven Cities.³⁹ In this valley⁴⁰ they brought him a skin once and a half as large as a cowskin and told him that it was from an animal who had only one horn in his forehead which curved in towards the breast and from which a point extended straight out in which he had very great strength. The color was like that of a goat and the hair as long as a finger. Here came a dispatch from Estéban who sent to tell him that since he had been traveling alone he had never caught the Indians in a lie, so he could believe what they told him about the greatness of the country. The father also affirmed this, that in the 112 leagues which he had traveled from the place where he had received the first news of Cíbola he had always found exact whatever they told him.

In this valley he also took possession as he was ordered. The natives begged him to rest there for three days because

35. Ramusio inserts here "white".

36. Ramusio here makes an interpolation "and that the vessels that they used and their other ornaments are of gold", while the original states that the doors and the fronts of the principal houses were of turquoises.

37. Original "southeast".

38. Original "to the west".

39. In the original this reads as follows "He also said that there is another very large province and kingdom called 'Acus' because the Ahacus and Acus with aspiration is one of the Seven Cities, the principal one and without aspiration. Acus is a kingdom and province by itself". Here we see the words reversed. Ahacus with aspiration was Hawikuh, one of the Seven Cities, while Acus, without aspiration, was Acoma. In the original it is also stated that in that city (that is Ahacus) the people sleep in beds raised from the ground, covered by cloth and canopies.

40. Herrera omits to state that Niza traveled three days in this valley, and saw more than 2000 cowskins, extremely well tanned, and a great quantity of turquoises and necklaces, and also had news of the kingdoms of Marata, Ahacus and Totontea.

from the beginning of the uninhabited country⁴¹ to Cíbola it was fifteen long days' journey, and inasmuch as more than 300 men had gone along with Estevanico and were carrying food to last over the uninhabited country they wished to go with him to serve him and because they hoped to come back rich. He remained for these three days and those who were going to go with him being ready he departed and entered the uninhabited country May 9. On the first day they found a very wide road and signs of the fires which those traveling to Cíbola had made. He traveled twelve days, always well supplied with food and wild hares and partridges of the same color and taste as those of Castile, although smaller. Here an Indian of Estéban's company came up very sad and fatigued. He said that one day's journey before reaching Cíbola Estéban had sent his gourd with messengers, as he always had done, for them to know that he was coming. This gourd contained some strings of bells and two feathers, one white and the other red.⁴² On putting the gourd in the hands of the governor of Cíbola he threw it down on the ground with great anger when he saw the bells, and told the messengers that he was acquainted with those people and that they should go away and not enter Cíbola because he would kill all of them. Estéban, having told his companions that that was nothing and that they received him the best where they did such things, continued his journey and reached Cíbola. They would not let him enter it, put him in a large house and took away whatever he had of barter, turquoises and other things which had been given him on the road. They kept him there for a day and a night without giving him anything to eat. This Indian on account of his thirst went out to drink in a stream nearby and said that he soon saw Estéban fleeing and they were killing some of those who had gone with him. Then the Indian hid and saved himself up the river. With this news many of those who were with the father wept. He consoled them saying that they should not believe this. They replied, affirming that the Indian did not lie, and so he went apart begging of the Lord to guide him in this business as He would be best served and to bring light to his heart. Returning to the Indians he opened his packs of barter and divided them among the principal men, ani-

41. Original "four days from there".

42. Ramusio adds here "as a sign that he demanded safe conduct and to show that he did not come to do any harm".

mating them to have no fear and to follow him. At a day's journey ⁴³ from Cíbola they encountered two other Indians of those who had gone with Estéban, very bloody and badly wounded. On seeing them a pitiful weeping commenced among all.

When the father, who could not himself hold back his tears, was able to quiet them he ordered the two to tell what had happened. They said that among their fathers, sons and brothers more than 300 were dead and that they could not now go to Cíbola. They related that Estévan had sent his gourd and to tell the governor that he had come to cure them and bring peace and that the governor, throwing down the gourd, said that those bells were not like theirs. Altogether they confirmed in everything what the first Indian had said and further, that the next day in the morning Estévan went out of the house and some principal people with him and at once many from the city attacked them. In fleeing some of Estévan's people fell over the others who numbered more than 300 without counting the women. Then they shot arrows at them and gave them those wounds, and they threw themselves among the dead until the night, when they arose and fled. They saw that during the daytime many people were looking on from the roofs of the city at what was going on. They saw no more of Estévan, indeed, believed that they had killed him with arrows like the others. Father Fray Marcos was very much confounded with this news, not knowing what to do. He said that punishment would not fail to reach Cíbola, and they answered that no one was sufficient, because it was a powerful place. Very great were their continued weeping and lamentations. The father went aside to commit himself to God and on returning at the end of an hour found a Mexican Indian, named Marcos, crying, who told him "Father, these people have agreed to kill you because you and Estévan have been the cause of the death of their relatives and will also be of them." The father opened his chests and divided what remained of the barter and told them that they would get very little benefit from his death but he would get much since dying in the service of the Lord he would go to heaven. They must know, however, he said, that when his death was found out the Christians would come and make war on them. With these and other reasons he appeased them although

43. Original adds here "of five leagues".

their sorrow was not diminished. He begged that someone should go to find out about Estévan but nobody wished to go. He said that he could not return without seeing Cíbola. Only two of the principal men were willing to go with him, with whom, with their Indians and interpreters, he continued his journey until he came in sight of Cíbola, which he said was situated in a plain on the slope of a round hill, but with the best appearance of a town in all those regions, with stone storied houses and roofs, as it seemed to him from a hill where he placed himself to see it, and that the town was larger than Mexico." Father Fray Marcos affirmed that he was tempted to enter the city but [he did not] considering that, if he should die, there could be no account of that country which seemed to him the best of what had been discovered.

The father having, as stated, pondered everything which occurred to him, raised a pile of stones in that place with the aid of the Indians and put a cross over it, saying that he placed it there in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, for the king of Castile and Leon, in sign of possession, which he thereby took of those Seven Cities and of the kingdoms of Tonteachacus and Marata, and that he did not go to them in order that he could return with an account of what he had done and seen. With this he returned to the people whom he had left behind, whom he reached in two days' journey. He passed the uninhabited country and on entering the valley great were the lamentations for the dead. On this account he at once took his departure, traveling ten leagues a day until he passed the second uninhabited zone to reach the opening, where it was said was the end of the mountains. There he found out that the opening was many days' journey towards the east. He did not enter it so as not to expose himself to danger, although he saw from the mouth

44. At this point Ramusio makes a long interpolation "which contains more than 20,000 houses. The people are almost white, they wear clothes and sleep in beds. They have bows for arms, and many emeralds and other jewels, although they do not esteem these as much as turquoises with which they adorn the walls of the portals of their houses, and their clothes and vessels, and which they use as money in all that country. They dress in cotton and in cowskins and this is the most esteemed and honorable apparel. They use vessels of gold and silver because they have no other metal and of which there is a great use and a greater abundance than in Peru. This they buy for turquoises in the provinces of the Pintados where there are said to be mines in great abundance. Of the other kingdoms I could not obtain such detailed information."

of it several reasonably sized towns in a very fresh valley of good land and from where many smokes arose and he found out that there was much gold among those people. He set up here two crosses and took possession and continued his return journey until he reached the town of San Miguel de Culiacan, believing that he would find in it the governor, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. Not having found him, however, he continued to the city of Compostela from where he gave an account of his journey to the viceroy and to his provincial. At once the fame of the account of Fray Marcos de Niza extended far and wide. The greatness and riches which he had found were not believed by everybody although they aroused the spirit of the viceroy to send to conquer and settle that country.

Herrera then continues with a brief summary of what happened until Cortés went to Spain and the viceroy began to get together money to raise an army to leave the following year.

The omissions in Herrera's account are numerous but of little importance. Fray Marcos repeated himself and told the same story over again several times about the wonders of Cíbola as he heard it from the Indians as he went along. No interpolations occur in the narrative; Herrera evidently simply made an extract from the original as we now have it. With Ramusio, however, the case is very different. Although he also omitted numerous passages he made some striking interpolations, in almost all cases referring to gold or silver or other riches. The references to gold in the original narrative solely relate to what Niza heard about the valley to the east, but Ramusio tells us that he said that there was much gold in Cíbola. The last interpolation (note 44) proceeds to tell where it came from. Now if we examine the circumstances under which Ramusio published his translation we find that following the account of Niza is a letter of Coronado, giving his account of the journey to Cíbola. In this he speaks about sending Melchior Diaz to the place which Niza had spoken of so highly, that is the valley in the mountains to the east. Diaz found nothing, to the grief of the whole company that a thing so highly com-

mended and about which Niza had bragged so much should be found so opposite. Later Coronado asserts that what Niza had said was entirely untrue with the exception of the names of the cities and the stone houses. The only thing of value which was found in the country were two points of supposed emeralds. Some turquoises were found but not a sign of gold or silver. Under these circumstances it is difficult to believe that Ramusio was responsible for the interpolations about precious metals and we are therefore forced to the conclusion, which I reached a long time ago, that Niza's account had been printed in Spain at the time it was received, some time in the early part of 1540. Such interpolations were entirely in order at that time among the booksellers in that country. Besides there is no doubt but that exaggerated stories had reached Spain about what Niza had said, and I do not regard it as at all improbable that he himself had been guilty of making some of these statements.

There is another almost conclusive indication that the narrative was printed at this time. Some time prior to May and possibly February, 1542, Battista Agnese, a Genoese cartographer working in Venice, produced four manuscript atlases each containing a world map on which the discoveries of Niza are shown. It is difficult to believe that Agnese could have had access to the manuscript. Here we find El Nuevo Regno de S. Francisco, Cíbola, Marata to the southeast of it, Totonteac to the southwest of it, Vacapa, Petatlan and San Michel de Culiacan, all names mentioned by him, and in fact, except the last two, given by him. There are other less conclusive indications that the account was printed at this time, namely, later allusions which seem to refer to such a publication; one by Father Kino and the other by Father Garcés, the latter very doubtful. Kino refers to a book by Niza, something which he would hardly have said about the account printed by Ramusio or that

printed by Herrera. Adolph F. Bandelier⁴⁵ discussed this question of later references at some length and seemed to think that some of them at least had been derived from some other source than Niza's own relation as we now know it. This of course is impossible. Accompanying the document in the archives is a part of a second copy. What exists seems to be the same as in the complete one but of course there may have been differences in what has now disappeared, but I doubt it. I do not believe that Niza ever wrote more than one account. The fact that he swore to the one we now have would naturally debar him from writing a different one. It is true that he speaks of putting down the names of the islands and towns all on another paper, but I take it that that was only a memorandum.

No contemporary statement has been located which gives the date of the arrival of Fray Marcos at Culiacan on his return or even at Compostela. The only thing we know positively is that he was back in Mexico by September 2, and most likely before August 23, the date of Zumárraga's letter quoted below. We have, however, in the shape of two letters addressed by Cortés to the viceroy some evidence from which we may draw some useful conclusions.⁴⁶ The first letter is dated July 26, 1539. I translate the part referring to Niza:

Of the coming of Francisco Vasquez I am infinitely pleased and of the news of Fray Marcos because although I was certain that a good country would be found there I did not think it was so near. My ships will find out what may be beyond, which I am sure must be something great. God desires that we shall not be idle but otherwise, because he placed us in these parts for each one to use his talents. As Fray Marcos will return so soon he will give more news. I beg of your worship to order that the particulars be

45. *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American Series V, Cambridge 1890.

46. In the *Proceso* 1-1-2/21 (modern signature Leg. 21). There are two copies of these letters in this *legajo* in different *testimonios*, Part III, pp. 109-112 and Part IX, pp. 140-1, both equally difficult to read.

written to me, especially about the place where it is, for I firmly believe he will have it marked down.⁴⁷

From this letter it appears that the one which Niza wrote to the viceroy from Compostela had reached Mexico several days before the 26th. It is difficult to say just how long it took in those days for one to travel from Compostela to Mexico. The distance is in the neighborhood of 500 miles and the time necessary could hardly have been over three weeks. We may therefore tentatively place the date of arrival of Niza at Compostela about July 1. The distance from Culiacan to Compostela is about 250 miles and due to the character of the country this could hardly be negotiated under two weeks at the least. It would seem therefore as if Niza must have reached Culiacan about the middle of June, having employed in his whole journal roughly three months, and returned in about three weeks.

In a recent publication by Dr. Carl Sauer, *The Road to Cibola*,⁴⁸ the author who is well acquainted with the Sonora region, is firmly of the opinion that to make this journey to Cibola and return in the time mentioned was a physical impossibility, and this has always been my opinion. As Dr. Sauer well states, the total distance from Culiacan to Zuñi is in the neighborhood of 950 miles, or counting going and coming 1900 miles. According to Fray Marcos he entered what we may suppose to have been the San Carlos Apache Reservation about May 9 and came in sight of Cibola some thirteen days or more later. The outward journey is not impossible but to return 950 miles in three weeks or even in one month at the most is clearly a physical impossibility considering the way he traveled and the character of the country. Much light is thrown on this journey by the different stories of the Coronado expedition, published by George Parker Winship in his *Coronado Expedition*.⁴⁹ We are not told in any of these to my knowledge that

47. That is on a map.

48. *Ibero-Americana*, III, Berkeley, California, 1932, pp. 21-32.

49. Washington, 1896.

Coronado followed the route which Niza took but there are indications that he did, certainly for the first part of the journey. With a party of horsemen Coronado sped on in advance. It took him about seventy-five days to go from Culiacan to Cíbola (one account says seventy-seven and another seventy-three). As the distance was generally stated to be 300 leagues we arrive at a daily average traveled of four leagues. The league in use must have been one of about three miles, the usual land league at that time, and although there are some indications that Niza used a longer one it is probable that his was also three miles. Niza according to his own account made the journey in about seventy-seven days. Allowing for his stoppage of three days in Petatlan, seventeen days at Vacapa, three days in another town not mentioned, and his alleged journey to the coast (time not mentioned), and other stops which are only indicated and not stated in the narrative we find his traveling time was reduced to not more than fifty-four days, or in all probability not over fifty, indicating that he traveled on the average six leagues a day, two more than Coronado, who was in a hurry and was mounted. Whether Niza rode or not we do not know but he was accompanied by a large number of Indians who certainly were on foot and consequently he could not travel any faster than they did. A rate of travel of eighteen or twenty miles a day split up by several rests is not impossible, but in view of the experience of Coronado it is hardly credible. To return the 300 leagues to Culiacan in less than thirty days is even incredible.

We are now confronted with one or two possibilities: either there is something wrong with the dates in the narrative or else Fray Marcos never saw Zuñi nor came within 200 or 300 miles of it at the best. The date of his departure from Culiacan and the almost certain date of his return to Compostela are confirmed by contemporary evidence. We are therefore forced to accept the other hypothesis, namely, that he never saw Cíbola. In view of his positive statement to that effect and other details in his narrative to be men-

tioned later, there seems to be ample foundation then for the statement both of Cortés and Castañeda that he was a liar. That may be a pretty bald way of putting it and to ascribe his statement to an overheated imagination better covers the case. Just how far Niza did reach will never be known. Dr. Sauer's opinion is that he did not get very far north of the Cananea plain in northern Sonora, having penetrated at most a very short distance into the modern state of Arizona. This statement may be somewhat too conservative. It is possible that he might have reached the Gila River and there are some indications of this in the narratives of the Coronado expedition. Between that and Zuñi the country is exceedingly rough and broken and any trail across it would be much longer than the airline distance. I traversed it in the spring of 1933 and was surprised to find how rough much of it was.

There are many other features of Niza's account which will not bear examination. For one thing, he distinctly stated that he had gone to view the coast of the South Sea and found that in 35° it turned to the west. Leaving aside the question that the latitude was three or more degrees too high we can dismiss his claim because there was not sufficient time allotted to make the journey. It may also be noted that in the early part of the narrative he betrays the fact that he had received either from Cortés or from someone who had accompanied Cortés an account of the latter's visit to the coast of Sinaloa from La Paz.⁵⁰ The long island mentioned is Guayaval, a long island about half a league from the coast, just as he says, and which extends between the Mocorito and Culiacan rivers. However, it is hardly possible that it was inhabited or that he saw it. He misstated its location as being north of the Sinaloa River. There is no such island on that part of the coast nor was there any then as far as we can ascertain from the narrative of Francisco

50. Little is known about this visit and it is impossible to say just how far north Cortés struck this coast, but it seems to have been somewhere north of the Sinaloa River.

de Ulloa. The island beyond to which Niza refers was probably intended by him to mean California, but there is no contemporary evidence whatever that the Indians in California had any craft by which they could cross the gulf in that latitude. The thirty other small islands do not exist except close to the California shore. The reference to the coast turning to the west in 35° seems to indicate that he had heard in Compostela after his return about the voyage of Ulloa up the gulf, although Ulloa gave the latitude of the end of the gulf as 34° .

The development of the drama to be enacted during the next few years now began. On August 6 Cortés wrote another letter to the viceroy from Cuernavaca in which he states:

Distinguished Sir: With the letter of your lordship concerning the news of Friar Marcos I was the recipient today of great favor and much happiness, for I had wished very much to receive it on account of what is being said around here about that country; I had not given credence to the latter until I saw your letter since your lordship had written me that you would have me informed of whatever Friar Marcos might say. These things are worthy of rendering praise to God, though they are not to be wondered at, for, judging by what has been witnessed and written, He has thus willed it, inasmuch as in our own times He is pleased to reveal to us these things which have so long lain hidden. And may we succeed in giving Him thanks for so great a boon by making proper use of it. Your lordship is quite right about hesitating in your decision because, in my opinion, one must consider the matter very carefully. I am satisfied that, with the wisdom which God has endowed the judgment of your illustrious person and the zeal to serve Him and our king that I have always observed in you [the matter will have a happy outcome]; if anyone is going to be successful in this affair, surely it is He. And so God wished to reveal this, not as the result of expenditures for huge fleets by sea and large armies by land, but through a single discalced friar so that we may better understand that [Latin quotation], and that to Him alone the glory is due and nothing can be attributed to man.

Your lordship requests me to take my part in making recommendations and giving my opinion on this subject. I am humbly grateful for the lofty concept that your lordship has formed of my good will; if, in accordance with the latter, I should succeed in giving good advice, your lordship would be right in saying that your flattering concept of me was the soundest. However, those who learned of what I had advised would be equally right in considering my opinions worthless. And so, not by thinking will I be useful but rather by obeying. If your lordship will tell me how you think you can make use of my advice, I will say what little my experience suggests with the sincerity and devotion that I owe myself which your lordship has always noted in me. If it should be necessary to go to the city where you are in order to give my opinion, that I will do if you command me. . .⁵¹

There is nothing in these letters of Cortés to more than hint that he claimed to have any knowledge of the country which Fray Marcos had described and he displays a willingness to cooperate with the viceroy which no doubt was entirely sincere. Something must have happened between August 6 and September 2 to bring about an entire change in the situation. Just what this was it is difficult, but not impossible to say. On August 24 the viceroy issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to leave the country by sea or by land without his license, a plain indication that he had decided to prevent the ships which Cortés had ready to send to the assistance of Ulloa from leaving, probably because he thought they were destined to search for the new land, and this was the claim afterwards made by Cortés himself. On this account a quarrel broke out between the two men and it is certain that Cortés now began to make statements about Niza to the effect that all he had said was what Cortés himself had told him. September 2 Mendoza had Niza appear before the audiencia and make an affirmation to his relation. On the same day, and no doubt immediately succeeding the ceremony, Niza, who was then in the presence of the viceroy,

51. Kindly translated by Dr. Irving A. Leonard of the University of California, Berkeley.

made an affirmation before him and certain witnesses. He was asked to declare in the sight of God and under his conscience if Cortés had given him any notice or any account of anything touching the discoveries he had made of the land, before he set out on the journey, or had given him any counsel regarding it. He declared that he had received no notice of it from Cortés nor any account whatever of the country from him, and that he went there by the order of the viceroy and that the Lord guided him and the Indians that he took with him. He added that if Cortés had had any news or account of that country he would not have sent his ships to Peru as he had done.⁵² This reference is to the two ships which Cortés sent to Peru to aid Pizarro in the earlier part of 1539 under the command of Hernando de Grijalva.

These proceedings were no doubt well known to Cortés and on September 4 he appeared before the audiencia and presented his famous petition which was printed under the title *Memorial sobre que no se le embarace el descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur*.⁵³ On September 11 the fiscal Benavente filed an answer to Cortés' petition with some documents, included among which were the two letters just cited from Cortés to Mendoza, and Cortés was asked to verify the signatures to the letters. This he did. September 12 Coronado presented a petition to the audiencia asking that Cortés be prohibited from sending out any expedition by land or sea, as it was reported that Cortés was planning to send one to look for the newly discovered land which Coronado claimed lay in his territory. After some further proceedings before the audiencia and the refusal of that body to take any action, a transcript of the record was made October 9 and Cortés removed the proceedings to the Council of the Indies in Spain. These were initiated by a petition of Yñigo Lopez de Mondragon in the name of Cortés March 1, 1540. Cortés

52. *Proceso*, Part II, page 83.

53. *Proceso*, Part III, pp. 1-7, and Part IX, 3 et seq. First printed from a copy among the manuscripts of the Academia de la Historia, Madrid, in the *Col. de doc. inéditos para la historia de España*, Tomo IV, 1844, pp. 201-208.

54. *Proceso*, Part IX, page 110 et seq.

in the meantime had left Mexico in December and reached Spain in April. June 25 he himself presented the memorial, commonly known as the *Memorial sobre agravios*,⁵⁵ in which he assailed Mendoza for hindering him from undertaking his expedition and for generally throwing obstacles in the way of his making discoveries under his contract of 1529. In this he makes the following statement:

At the time I came from that country [California] Fray Marcos talked with me and I gave him an account of the country and its discovery because I had the intention of sending him in my ships to prosecute the conquest of the seacoasts and country, because it seems that he had some knowledge of navigation. This friar communicated this to the viceroy and with his license it is said that he went by land in search of this same coast and country which I had discovered and which was and is part of what was conquered by me. After this friar returned he has stated that he came in sight of this country. I deny that he had seen or discovered it, instead, what the friar says he has seen he has stated and states solely through the account which I have given him of the news which I had from the Indians of the country of Santa Cruz whom I brought with me, because everything that the friar says is the same as those Indians told me. The putting forward of himself in this matter, manufacturing and stating what he had neither seen nor saw is nothing new, because many other times he has done this and it is a custom of his, as is well known in the provinces of Peru and Guatemala. Sufficient information about this will be given in this court when necessary.

The immediate result of this memorial was the sending of an order July 19, to Mendoza by the Council of the Indies not to interfere with Cortés' plans, but by the time it reached Mexico it was too late. The Coronado force was organized and had already left Mexico City. Mendoza, however, seemed to have had some doubts, perhaps he remembered the advice of Cortés to be a little cautious. He therefore ordered Melchior Diaz to take some horsemen and see if the story of Fray Marcos was true. Diaz left Culiacan

55. *Proceso*, Part II, page 5 *et seq.* and first printed in the *Col. de doc. inéditos para la historia de España*, IV, 1844, pp. 209-217.

with fifteen horsemen November 17 and on the 20th of March, 1540, Mendoza received a letter from him by Juan de Zaldívar in which Diaz gave some account of his journey. It is not necessary to repeat this; suffice it to say that after traveling 100 leagues Diaz got into a cold country and the farther he went the colder it got, so he decided to send back some messengers with a letter. Generally speaking he heard much the same stories about Cíbola as those related by Fray Marcos, except that he did not hear any stories about any metals. The natives possessed some turquoises but not so many as Fray Marcos had talked about. He found an Indian who had been with Estévan, from whose stories he concluded that the population of the country was considerable. He confirmed the story that Estévan had been killed in the way related by Fray Marcos. One hundred and fifty leagues from Culiacan he found a well-populated valley. Mendoza's letter was addressed from Jacona April 17, 1540, where he stopped on his return from Compostela and Colima.⁵⁶ The news was none too reassuring but it was too late to draw back. Coronado with his imposing force had left Compostela and gone to Culiacan and five days after the letter was written he departed from Culiacan with an advance force, taking with him Fray Marcos and some other Franciscan friars.

Niza had now been elected provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico. Just when this took place I have never been able to ascertain. On the whole it was an extraordinary proceeding as Niza was a comparative newcomer to Mexico, and had none of the prestige enjoyed by the original band of Franciscans, many of whom were still alive. It was also a most unusual proceeding for a provincial to absent himself from Mexico for such a long period as was now in prospect. There must have been some very strong reason for this election which we may well suppose to have been pressure exerted by the viceroy.

56. First printed by Ternaux-Compans in French in the *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, Paris 1838, pp. 290-298, and subsequently in the *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos . . . America y Oceania*, Tomo II, Madrid 1864, pp. 356-362.

The result of the Coronado expedition was disastrous to Fray Marcos' reputation. The members were disgusted because they found nothing which they had hoped to find and which they supposed had been seen by him. Castañeda, who asserts that Niza never saw Cíbola and only related what the Indians had told him, says that when they saw Cíbola such curses were hurled at Fray Marcos "that I pray God may protect him from them."⁵⁷ It would appear from this account that Fray Marcos was not with Coronado when the advance force reached that place but that he was behind with the rest of the army in the town of Señora, whence he returned to Mexico in August, 1540, with Juan Gallego because, as Castañeda says, he (probably Niza himself) did not think it was safe to stay in Cíbola, seeing that his report had turned out to be entirely false.⁵⁸ This is, however, unlikely. He probably meant that Fray Marcos was not then in Cíbola, as this was in the month of September. Gallego and Melchior Diaz had come from Cíbola and were the bearers of Coronado's letter to Mendoza dated August 3.

We have already seen in Niza's own account what he had to say about Cíbola and it may be admitted that most of what he says was simply what he had heard. At best he could not tell much about a town by looking at it from the top of a mountain a long way distant, but there is considerable evidence that he had exercised his imagination and in public had gone far beyond what he had said in his relation. Castañeda himself, in speaking of his return, stated that the kingdoms that he had told about had not been found, nor the populous cities, nor the wealth of gold, nor the precious stones which he had reported, nor the fine clothes, nor other things which had been proclaimed from the pulpits. This allusion to the pulpits is most interesting as it indicates that a kind of crusade had been preached. Perhaps the best account of what Niza had to say is contained in two contemporary letters, one written August 23, 1539 by Bishop

57. Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 483.

58. Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, p. 484.

Zumárraga and the other by Fray Gerónimo Ximenez de San Estéban from Acapichtla October 9, 1539, to Fray Tomas de Villanueva in Burgos. I translate what they say:

[Zumárraga] . . . The country is at peace as you left it. Fray Marcos has discovered another much larger one, 400 leagues beyond where Nuño de Guzman is and near the island where the marqués was. Many people are moving to go there. The marqués pretends that the conquest of it belongs to him but the viceroy takes it for the emperor and desires to send friars ahead without arms and wishes the conquest to be a Christian and apostolic one and not a butchery. The people are more cultured in their wooden edifices of many stories and in their dress. They have no idols, but worship the sun and moon. They have only one wife and if she dies do not marry another. There are partridges and cows which the father says he saw, and he heard a story of camels and dromedaries and of other cities larger than this one of Mexico . . .⁵⁹

[Ximénez de San Estéban] It was in the month of September last year that a friar of San Francisco, French of nationality, left the city of Mexico in search of a country of which the governors of these parts had notice and had not been able to discover. He traveled over 500 leagues through inhabited territory and at the end of this passed through a desert for more than sixty leagues, and at the end came to a very well settled country with people of much culture who had cities walled about and great houses. They wear shoes and buskins of leather and many wear silk clothing down to their feet. Of the richness of this country I do not write you because it is said to be so great that it does not seem possible. The friar himself told me this, that he saw a temple of their idols the walls of which, inside and outside, were covered with precious stones; I think he said they were emeralds. They also say that in the country beyond there are camels and elephants.⁶⁰

The story handed down to us by Don Juan Suarez y Peralta is not quite so reliable as although he was in Mexico at the time he was then very young, and he wrote a half a century later. Niza exaggerated things so much, Don Juan

59. Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección de documentos*, II, 283.

60. Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección de documentos*, I, 194.

says, that everybody in Mexico wanted to go, leaving the place depopulated.⁶¹ This in a sense was just what was wanted. The place was overrun with necessitous and noble men who had come out expecting to make money, and they were giving the viceroy lots of trouble. I have not been lacking writers who have claimed that the story of Niza was cooked up by Mendoza for the purpose of getting these people out of town. I think we should at least take it for granted that Mendoza did nothing but pour cold water on Niza's boiling imagination.

Zumárraga's letter was written in a hurry to send a messenger then leaving so as to catch a ship about to sail from Vera Cruz. No doubt the ship carried the news of Niza from the viceroy and perhaps was the same one which had orders to proceed to Spain without stopping, but, notwithstanding, the captain made the declaration November 12 that he had been forced to leave the port due to sickness and lack of food and water. Several witnesses were called to testify about Fray Juan de la Cruz. All swore that even a month and a half before, that is, on October 1, the expedition to Cibola was proclaimed and Coronado appointed to command it. They told much of the same stories as will be found in the letters printed above, confirming the stories prevalent in Mexico about Niza's journey. After weighing all the evidence available in the case and in connection with it, I am inclined to think that the whole trouble lay in Niza's fervid imagination and the circumstances in which he found himself when he heard of the death of Estévan. I decline to believe that he ever saw Zuñi unless it was in a vision, something not at all unlikely in such a case. What he heard from the Indians in northern Sonora about the famous Seven Cities was substantially correct. He simply magnified everything

61. *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España*, Madrid 1878, pp. 144-5. He adds that Cortés proposed to Mendoza to prosecute the discovery jointly, but one of Mendoza's adherents warned him to beware of Cortés and to remember what happened to Diego Velásquez who received nothing; and Cortés came to Mexico.

62. *Proceso*, Part I. An extract of them will be found in Winship's *Coronado Expedition*, page 366, taken from the *Col. de Documentos inéditos de . . . America*, Tomo XV, pp. 392-8.

Zumárra, one turquoise became a hundred, a small town San Est. great city and everything else in proportion. It Tomas drtunate for him that some 300 men went out on the [Zumárra of his statements. When they turned out to be Marcos] not to be wondered at that these men came back beyond him bitterly as the author of their misfortunes.

the mar not read the subsequent history of Niza so far as The ma's anything but a tragedy. All of the early chron-him but his order are silent on the subject. Gerónimo Men-send fri his order are silent on the subject. Gerónimo Men-be a Chne mentions him. He says that on his way from people : 1554 he passed through Jalapa where he found stories appled from the hardships through which he had the sun Thinking that the hour of his death was drawing do not was taken to Mexico to be interred with the ancient which t. s and there he finished his life's journey.⁶³ In the and dro Mexico *Franciscana* of Fr. Augustín de Vetancourt it is

[Xat he died in Mexico March 25, 1558.⁶⁴ We have Septem]pse of him in his later years. In 1546 he wrote a of natio Zumárraga, his old-time friend, which reads as of whic not bee

through all due reverence and devotion I kiss the feet and through your reverence, and with devotion I ask your pater-end carniction. You will know that on account of having culture ot country my health has become very bad. On wear shant the *padre provincial* orders me to return to it ing do milco. As I, an orphan, have no father and mother, friend not refuge except your lordship, whom I have found more than father in all my necessities, and all this without meriting it, through the exceeding charity of your lordship, I supplicate your lordship to make me for a few months a donation of a little wine, of which I am in great need, as my sickness is of lack of blood and natural heat. I will receive it as the very greatest charity; and if you can do this, write me for how many months and how much each month your lordship wishes to give, so I can send an Indian to get it at the proper time. Praying that the Lord God will guard and

63. *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, Mexico, 1870, page 541.

64. Mexico, 1697, page 37. It forms part of the *Crónica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*.

save your reverent person; from this your house, today, Friday, the lowest servant and chaplain of your lordship, Fray Marcos de Niza.

On this is a note of the answer:

To this I say, father of mine, servant of God, that during the months and the years that I shall live, while your sickness and necessity last, every month an *arroba* of wine shall be given to you. And from the present I send it to you and order Martin de Aranguren to give you for my account of the best that there is, and the hospital overseer, Lucas, or his companion, will give it to the Indian who comes for it if I should not be in the city. February 27, 1546.

[To which is added a postscript:] If more should be necessary it will be given with good will.⁶⁵

We have seen Bishop Zumárraga's statement that the Franciscans in Peru had elected Niza as *custodio* and no doubt his information was reliable. In that sense perhaps Niza may have been the leader of the Franciscans who formed a *custodia* which later became known as the Doce Apóstoles, the forerunner of the province of the Franciscan order in Peru of that name, but that there were eleven other Franciscans with him was certainly not true. The later idea seems to have been that because of the name there must have been twelve apostolic friars. One chronicler names six, but I have never seen any contemporary mention of any of these nor of Niza for that matter. Bishop Berlanga who reported to the king about the religious state of Peru in 1536 expressly stated there were but two or three friars in the whole country. Some few had gone to Peru *suelto*s, he said (that is without any authority) and had left the country. No doubt Niza was one of these and the word *suelto*s implies that none, not even Niza had any delegated authority, that is, was a commissary. Even the zealous Franciscan chroniclers of the province in the next century could not bring forward any proof that Niza had been one.

The whole history of the man so far as we know it, clearly indicates that he was given to loose statements and great exaggeration. It was his fortune to be cast as a

65. Icazbalceta, *Nueva Col. de documentos*, II, 292-3.

prominent actor in the drama then being enacted in the newly discovered treasure houses of Mexico and Peru. Men were crazy for gold. The first great gold rush of which there is any record was at its height. In such an over-charged atmosphere men will believe anything that promises gold, any story, no matter how wild, meets unhesitating acceptance. Some one is always forthcoming to provide the story. To stamp such people as unmitigated liars is not to the point, they are simply the victims of their own imaginations or hallucinations; what they wish to see or hear that they see or hear. Another cause for his fabulous stories no doubt lay in the then widely held belief that the North American continent was but a peninsula of Asia. In this view the famed dominions of the great Khan of Tartary of Marco Polo lay north of Mexico. The emeralds, gold, camels and elephants of which Mexico heard so much after Niza's return abounded in them. It was merely necessary to go far enough north to find them. In the good friar's mind I am sure the idea that he reached the very edge of this country of fabled wealth was paramount. A little beyond, a little beyond; always the steer a long way off has long horns. Perhaps even Fray Marcos was a Gascon.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE "PEÑALOSA" MAP.—The Library of Congress has a copy of the manuscript map, reproduced with the paper by Mr. Espinosa, which was secured by Walter Lowery from the French archives.¹ At the top it is described as:

Carte du Nouveau Mexique tirée des Relations de Mons'r le Comte de Peñalossa qui en a esté gouverneur en 1665 [et] de manuscrit du pere Estéuan de Perea custode de l'ord[re] de saint Francois dans le misme pays et d'autres memoires escrits sur les lieux.

Who actually made this map is not indicated, nor do we know in what year it was made. Lowery regarded it as of about 1700 and yet, except for the ambiguous reference to "other memoirs," its details certainly belong to the 17th century.

Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa is one of the most tragic figures in the history of New Mexico. After his term as governor (1661-1664) his trial by the Inquisition in Mexico City stripped him of his property. Under sentence of perpetual exile from New Spain, he became a "man without a country," intriguing first at London (1669-1673) and then until his death in Paris (1673-1687) to persuade either England or France to seize the "Gran Quivira" or some other part of these vast northern borderlands. Among other titles which he used was that of the "Count of Santa Fé"!

We know that he carried away from Santa Fé various papers from the archives, for he himself speaks of such papers which he left in his London lodgings when he left hurriedly for Paris; but others apparently he carried with him to the latter city.

Fray Estévan de Perea was a dominating figure in the New Mexico missions for nearly thirty years, from 1609 until his death in 1638. In the only *Relación* from his pen which we know,² there is no mention of the Sierra Azul but

1. Catalogued at Washington as "WL 225."

2. Published in Seville, 1632-33; edited in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, VIII, 211-235.

he must have been cognizant of the reports, since he was a colleague of Zárate Salmerón. Doubtless he did speak of it in the "manuscript" which Peñalosa seems to have carried to Paris.

At all events this seems to be the earliest map which locates the Sierra Azul; and it is of great value and interest because of many other details. Here are Teguayó and Gran Quivira; and in the saline region are the "Pueblo of the Jumanos" and the others, all of which were destroyed or abandoned before 1680. On the other hand, in the El Paso region is a "Pueblo of the Tompiros," which indicates information *later* than the Indian rebellion of 1680 but *before* the names of Socorro and Senecú had become established there.

Again, in the Bernalillo valley (the old Tigua country) we find Sandía and Puaráy *east* of the Rio Grande and Alameda *west* of the river—which agrees with the findings of Hackett.³ But all three of these pueblos were destroyed in 1681, while the Spanish plaza of Bernalillo which existed in 1680 is not shown.

The curious "Santa Fé de Peñalossa" lying west in the Hopi country must be attributed to Peñalosa himself and falls in the class of legendary features—or worse, for there was some basis in rumor at least for Teguayó, Quivira, and the Sierra Azul.

L. B. B.

3. C. W. Hackett, "The location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy, and Sandía in 1680-81," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 381-391.

BOOK REVIEWS

Cato the Censor on Farming. Translated by Ernest Brehaut. (Columbia University Press, 1933. xlv+156 pp.; illus., bibliog., index. \$3.75.)

One hundred and thirty years is definitely too long an interval between successive translations of Cato's book on farming. The appearance of this new translation is especially opportune at the present time, furnishing, as it does, timely aid to the hard-pressed minority in the discussion of the relief for modern American agriculture. Though the table of contents divides the work into various subjects, the whole is an able and earnest elaboration of the statement expressed in the first book: "Be sure that a farm is like a man, that however much it brings in, if it pays much out, not a great deal is left."

With this point always in mind, Cato offers his advice to gentlemen who wish to undertake farming for profit; almost every chapter contains several don'ts. A farm owner should never buy fuel, nor lumber, nor food, nor lime, nor ropes, nor fertilizer, nor feed for his cattle, nor cloth, nor baskets, nor nursery stock, nor machinery which can be made at home. And we are using hundreds of millions to raise the power of the farmer to purchase just these things! He should not pay too much for the farm at the beginning; nor should he ever pay more than the standard price (carefully noted in the thesis) for cartage or mill-wheels or harvesting or tile roofs. He must not be too lavish with sacrifices nor allow his slaves and servants to be idle on feast days. He gives recipes for the concoction of home medicines from herbs; also culinary recipes which contain no ingredients which are not available on the farm and require no expenditure. He has unbounded faith in the efficacy of cabbage, not only as a wholesome food and as an appetizer, but as a cure for a number of afflictions, from cancer to warts in the nose. Reluctantly in chapter 135, he

is forced to admit that certain articles must be purchased and cash paid out, but he mitigates the shock by giving the names of the towns where they can best be purchased.

Although his advice deals largely with the growing of olives and grapes for oil and wine, he mentions approximately one hundred other possible sources of small revenue. Surely those whom he led to engage in agriculture for profit, if they did not gain much, could not have suffered much loss.

The methods described by Cato were evidently sound; the best proof of this fact is that they do not materially differ from the best modern practices in Italy, Spain, and especially in Mallorca. Little change has been made in the olive mills; the cattle still subsist largely upon leaves and straw. Willow and cane still form essential necessities in a well managed farmstead and any farm of any size has a man, usually a cripple, who works continually in osier, reeds, and straw. But the oak, raised for wood according to his advice, is largely replaced with pear, which in his time seems to have been grown for the fruit only. Few buildings now exist which would serve as examples of his choice in building material; later builders preferred cut stone. In Mexico, however, houses of "cal y canto" are very common. It is unfortunate that Cato has not described more fully the care of the live stock; he has not even described the building in which they were housed. This omission was apparently because of the fact that the farm was presumed to be already supplied with ordinary buildings and the operations given in detail were only to provide the extra space necessary for the processing of oil and wine. He refers to other buildings only generally in case the farmstead must be built in its entirety.

The introduction shows considerable study of the subject by the author and his conjectures, where necessary, seem dependably sound. He ventures only timidly into the speculation as to who the workers might be who undertook the harvesting contracts. No doubt but few farmers were wealthy enough to afford the comparatively costly machin-

ery required for the manufacture of oil or even wine, and probably the small farmers of the neighborhood were available for contracts during the harvesting and vintage seasons. Chapter 136 seems to indicate that the entire grain crop was raised by small farmers on shares.

The translation itself is thoroughly admirable. When the translator has encountered difficult or impossible passages, he has kindly given the text in the notes and allowed Latin scholars to amuse themselves with attempted improvements.

A few words defy translation. The word *ocinum*, has been the subject of controversy ever since the time of Pliny and will probably never be translated to the satisfaction of everyone. Not even the sixteenth century herbalists could find a suitable translation, though buckwheat, unknown to Cato, was called by that name. From the context, Pliny's statement that it was a distinct crop cultivated by the ancients sounds more reasonable than the statement of Sura Manlius that it was a mixture of plants, though in the seventeenth century *ocymun* and the synonymous word *bollymong* both meant a crop of mixed grains.

The seventh note in chapter 54 is puzzling. Would it not be better to admit that the meaning of the statement is not clear rather than to assert that the idea was mistaken? Perhaps Cato meant that when the larger plants were plucked, the smaller would increase in size; this would not be the case if the crop were cut with the sickle. The *ferrea* mentioned in chapter 10, note 14, might be the mattock. In old Spanish "*ferir la tierra*" meant to loosen the ground with that implement.

The book contains an excellent and complete index and a bibliography. It is well printed on paper which seems to promise permanency. It is well that it is so substantially printed if another space of 130 years is to elapse before further evidence justifies a new translation.

ADLAI FEATHER

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Colonial Hispanic America: A History. By Charles Edward Chapman. (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1933. Pp. xvii-405. With illustrations, maps, and essay on authorities.)

No scholarly work could be more appealing to both the student and "that elusive person: the general reader" than this excellent historical approach to colonial Hispanic America by one of the most outstanding men in the field. This is not a "dry-as-dust" tome; it is not a mere repository for all the factual knowledge that could be compressed within the limits of a single work; it is decidedly *not* "the encyclopaedic type of historical volume." Dr. Chapman's ideal is the furthering of mutual understanding and better relations between his own countrymen and those of all Hispania; he has advanced very definitely toward that goal by challenging directly both tyro and layman through the pages of a book that, aside from being a model of scholarly achievement, can not fail to hold its reader because of its direct, vivid style, its sympathetic attitude, and its colorful legend.

It might appear at first that an entire volume on the colonial era alone would mean necessarily the accumulation of an unpalatable number of facts and dates and references, especially so since those works that cover the whole period from the Conquest to the present devote, on the average, but a third or less of their space to the three hundred and more years of Spanish control. But herein lies the virtue of Dr. Chapman's history: he avoided the pitfall of monotonous repetition of incident and at the same time attacked the lamentable disproportion of the general studies, realizing that the uninitiated can not fully appreciate the "republican period" unless he is more thoroughly founded in the heritage bequeathed by Spain. There has long been a need for a comprehensive text to study the colonial background. That gap has been filled; we can now embark on the "Ship of State" with an illumined realization of the "whys" and "wherefores" of the "Age of the Dictators" and the numer-

ous other cancers that have eaten savagely into the national life of Hispanic America.

The volume opens with the era of discovery and carries us through the struggle for independence. There is no specific treatment of the European background or of Pre-Colombian America. Historical facts relevant to an understanding of the "westward movement," of the rivalry between the old-world powers, and of the institutions and policies of the colonial system as well as of the geographical and ethnological factors involved in the "epic" of America, are adroitly introduced throughout the account. Of the seventeen chapters that comprise the chronicle, four deal with the period of the Spanish Conquest, four with the colonial policy and the social, political, and economic system under the later Hapsburgs, and seven with the efforts of the Bourbons to retain their overseas empire. This chapter division corresponds approximately to the three periods in colonial history that the author characterizes as the "aggressive aggressive," the "aggressive defensive," and the "defensive defensive." Two chapters are devoted to the founding, maturity, and independence of Brazil.

The California historian is not given to dwelling on certain aspects of a period to the detriment of others equally important. Wholly impartial and objective in his treatment, he has written a balanced, concise account of the colonial years. To evade the annoying repetition of minutiae, Dr. Chapman has interpreted a general movement "through the medium of a single detailed illustration." Needless to add that in the matter of exemplary incident the author has been most happy in the choice of much interesting and recently acquired data. As a single instance of how he has insured the readability of his study through the clever use of detail, one could cite the several lines that in a few bold, deft touches tell us all we need to know of Pizarro's past, his family ties, and the causes of his break with Almagro: "On his way to Seville to prepare his expedition, Pizarro visited his native city of Trujillo, and persuaded his

four brothers, Hernando, Gonzalo, and Juan Pizarro, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara, to go with him to Peru. Of the four, only one, Hernando, was of legitimate birth, and he alone had the rudiments of an education. But Hernando was in many respects a disagreeable person. A stout man, with a big red nose, he was excessively proud and haughty, despising the members of the expedition with whom he came in contact. Arrived in the New World, he very soon developed a feud with Almagro, who was none too well pleased, either, with the contract obtained from the king by Pizarro."

To insure further a readable work of acceptable limits, Chapman has had frequent recourse to footnotes for much material that, though interesting in itself, would only serve to retard the straightforward, vigorous approach of the narrative. These notes, furthermore, permit the chronicler the luxury of indulging in the little asides that add a pleasing, personal tone to the study. The reviewer was especially pleased with the historian's questioning of the English version of "unitarismo" as "Unitarianism" and he welcomes the words Chapman coined—"Unitarism" and "Unitarists."

The author never lost sight of his initial intent in preparing the volume. He kept constantly before him the needs and the demands of the student and the general reader. Pertinent comments—based on the latest documentary evidence—on the most important current problems and discussions of place names such as "Haiti" and "Portobelo" and of terms such as "American" and "Hispanic" tend to stimulate thought and to incite the novice to form conclusions of his own. With unwavering consistency Chapman has given the most significant rendering for *all* Spanish terms; if a word defied a precise translation into English, he turned to the footnotes for comment, as witness his note on "consulado" (p. 129). An admirable feature is the "Essay on Authorities." Having aroused the interest of his reader through his own colorful chronicle, he seeks to encourage and to direct him further into the field through a very select,

well-organized, and adequately commentated guide to other sources, chiefly those written in English that have a "direct bearing upon considerable portions of the entire field." Additional aids are seven well-chosen maps that answer every query raised in the text as to place names and boundaries, and a highly satisfactory index.

The format is all that one could desire. The typography is perfect—even to the last written accent on the Spanish terms. All credit to the extreme patience and meticulous care of the author, and not a little, if he will, to the publishers. Ten exceptionally fine illustrations constitute but still another excellent feature of the volume. For its impartial, well-balanced, and accurate content and its timeliness, readability, and attractiveness, Dr. Chapman's latest contribution merits the immediate approval of scholar and layman alike.

JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK

The University of New Mexico.

Toward the New Spain. By Joseph A. Brandt. University of Chicago Press, 1933. 435 pp. Illustrations; bibliography; index. \$4.00.

Students of Spanish literature and of the history of Spain have been looking for just such a book as *Toward the New Spain*. It was indeed a difficult task for the author to attempt to clear up the background and to trace all the movements and counter-movements which have taken place in Spain in the past half-century, and which but recently culminated in the establishment of the new Spanish Republic. The author has succeeded quite well in the attempt, although he has leaned for support too heavily, at times, upon recorded flashes of Spanish oratory and excerpts from admittedly biased newspapers. This is perhaps the chief adverse criticism of the book. If in places the text becomes a bit confusing with the details of politics and pronunciamientos, it must be remembered that the times were confusing, and even many good Spaniards were no less bewildered.

The arrangement of the book is very good, and the author's style adds to its attractiveness. Beginning in the Foreword with a discussion of the perils and promises of Republicanism, the author goes logically into the first division of the work: Book One called "The Struggle Against the Dynasties." The eleven chapters which make up this first part are well written. From "Kings in the Service of Democracy" to "The King who went on a Strike," the reader's interest never lags.

Book Two is given the somewhat fanciful title of "The Republic of Wit and Poetry." This last half of the volume in six chapters takes up the thread of history at the time when the first Republic was established and follows it on down to the "Democratic Republic of 1931." The material here used is not so clearly presented as that in the first half, but what the book loses in clarity, it gains in liveliness.

The book portrays the long and bitter struggle between the old order and the new, between conservatism in Church and State, on the one hand, and liberalism and radicalism on the other. Such figures as Castelar, Figueras, Pí y Margall, and Salmerón move through the book with dramatic intensity. In his desire to give life and vividness to the struggle the author at times makes statements which seem overdrawn, such as the one on page 15 that "for three centuries united Spain had lived in intellectual slumber." However, these instances are rare.

The book has a striking appeal to the student of Spanish literature as well as to the student of history. Since true liberal thought in Spain is found more often in the works of her great writers than in the writings of the politicians, it is unfortunate that the author did not see fit to include some of the ideas expressed by Spain's greatest literary geniuses. There is a striking resemblance between certain ideas advanced in the book and those of Galdós, Ibáñez, and Pío Baroja.

The work is well illustrated with thirteen maps and pictures. Especially fine is the map on page 12 showing the

geographical barricades to Spanish unity, as well as the one found on page 258 entitled "The Spanish Republics." There is an excellent bibliography filling over eight pages at the end of the book.

A touch of up-to-the-minute modernity is added to the book near the end when the author writes:

"Alcalá Zamora called for a microphone to be installed and a few minutes later he was announcing the Republic of 1931 to Spain."

King Alfonso left his beloved Spain shouting "¡Viva España!" as his ears rang to the shouts of "¡Viva la República!"

The author puts the final touch to his work in these significant words:

"There was promise that the doctrine of social utility was slowly bearing fruit in the new schools and libraries over the land, in the new farms and the new farmers, in the new religious and intelligent freedom, in the new gospel of social happiness, in the new Kings of Spain, its citizens."

Toward the New Spain is both unique and contemporary and it should make a valuable addition to any private, public, or college library.

F. M. KERCHEVILLE.

University of New Mexico.

"Unas paginas traspapeladas de la historia de Coahuila y Texas," by Vito Alessio Robles. (Mexico, 1933; 54 pp., map.)

First published in two installments by the Review *Universidad de Mexico* (V/25-26, 27-28), this study was later brought out as a *sobretiro* of seventy-five copies and it is a good illustration of the "finds" occasionally made by workers in the archives. The misplaced document found and edited by Sr. Alessio Robles is (sub-title) "el derrotero de la entrada a Texas del Gobernador de Coahuila Sargento Mayor Martín de Alarcón" (9 abril 1718 hasta 6 febrero

1719), and as he points out it was unknown to Fathers Talamantes and Pichardo, to Bancroft, Bolton, or any other student of this period, early or recent.

The document has many features of interest, among them the earliest known report of wild cattle in Texas (pp. 23-24) :

. .vimos todos estos dias rastros y siempre estuvimos en que eran de sibula, hasta que este dia como a las cinco de la tarde al entrar en un espeso monte vimos un toro prieto de Castilla por lo qual se discurre ser todo de este ganado del que se le quedó cansado al General Alonzo de Leon a la buelta que hizo de Texas quando entró la primera vez.

An incident occurred on May 16 which might have had disastrous results, but instead it had a ludicrous feature (p. 25) :

Comenzando pues a pasar con mucho trabajo (el rio de Guadalupe?) nos hubiera sucedido la mayor fatalidad que se puede pensar, si Dios y la Santisima Virgen no extendieran el brazo de su Omnipotencia y misericordia para amparar y favorecer a dicho Señor Governador del apretadísimo lance en que se vió, porque llegando a pasar en el cavallo mas fuerte que se pudo aver llevando a las ancas al sargento de la compañía, al llegar a la orilla aviendo pasado lo mas del rio arrendó el cavallo y dando las ancas a la corriente se lo arrebató junto con ambos jinetes y fueron rio abaxo, sumergidos, asidos del cavallo como medio tiro de escopeta, en donde salieron asidos todavia del cavallo y bolviendose otra vez a sumergir se deshicieron del cavallo y los llevó el agua sumergidos mas de otro tiro de escopeta en donde volvieron a salir, ya se pueden considerar las ansias con que aqui se verian y mas dicho Señor Governador que iba vestido y sin saver nadar; mas aunque el dicho sargento sabia nadar bien aun no fuera bastante para librarse aun asi solo por la mucha violencia del agua si aqui Dios no hubiera echo un milagro por yntercesion de su Purisima Madre quien les previno dos ramas de savino de donde se asieron y de alli fueron sacados con sogas por la mucha profundidad; despues de este milagroso suceso he preguntado diversas vezes a dicho Señor Governador del caso y siempre me ha asegurado no save como fue o si fue o no por devajo del agua o por encima, lo cierto es que los que lo vieron dicen

que iba sin movimiento ninguno, prueba todo, que fue totalmente milagro, porque no se atribuiere a diligencias naturales el aber librado y mas quando el cavallo con la silla no pareció mas y al Governador aversele caydo los botones de los calzones quedandole echos grillos para que solo demos a Dios y a su Santisima Madre las gracias de que no cesamos y pedimos en lo demas nos favorezcan corriendo por su cargo esta entrada y conquista, con mas que llevando en la bolsa una caxuela de plata con el Rosario y las obras en que alaba a la Santisima Virgen, no solo no caieron al agua con averse bolteado los calzones pero ni aun las obras se mojaron. . .

L. B. B.

“Die ersten versuche einer missionierung und kolonisierung Neumexikos,” von P. Dr. Otto Maas, O.F.M., ein sonderdruck aus *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* VI/4 (Berlin 1933).

A delightful acquaintance with the genial Father Otto which began at the Archive of the Indies in Seville has been continued by him as a faithful subscriber to our quarterly and as an able student and writer of the early missions of our Southwest. His earlier publications (see *NMHR* vol. V, 215, 405-407) have been supplemented by this monograph which is a very thorough and typically German digest of all available sources, primary and secondary, upon the early history of New Mexico to the end of the Oñate period.

Dr. Maas seems to have overlooked very little—evidenced by the fact that approximately two-thirds of this study consists of footnotes. But perhaps he missed the analysis by C. W. Hackett, “The location of the Tigua pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy, and Sandía in 1680-81” (*Old Santa Fé*, II, 381-391). At page 11 he says: “In Tiguex, dem späteren Bernalillo . . .,” a mistake which originated with Bandelier. Documentary evidence clearly shows that Coronado’s winter camp was *west* of the Rio Grande; for the Castilians had to *cross the river* when they started for Pecos. Also the earliest mention of the villa of Santa Fé which Father Maas gives as May 1614 (p. 33) has since been moved back to 1612 (*NMHR* VIII, 216, note; and



FRAY OTTO MAAS, O.F.M.
(and Master John Bloom)
Sevilla, Spain, 1929



Bloom-Donnelly, *New Mexico History and Civics* (1933), 98-100).

On the other hand it is gratifying to find that the author correctly explains the name "San Juan de los Caballeros" (p. 25), and in his discussion of the perplexing "Fray Juan de la Cruz" (p. 13) he gives the interesting citation from Father J. G. Shea who "hält die beiden Laienbrüder für eine und dieselbe Person und glaubt dass Ludwig von Escalona der weltliche Name des Juan de la Cruz gewesen sei." (Shea-Roth, *Gesch. der kath. Missionen unter den Indianerstämmen der Ver. Staaten*, 47.)

L. B. B.

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT 1932-1933

Members of the Historical Society of New Mexico:

IT WAS seventy-five years ago that the Territorial Legislature granted a charter to the Historical Society of New Mexico. Fifty years ago, the Assembly adopted resolutions petitioning the United States government to grant the Society the use of the east end of the Palace of the Governors at Santa Fé for exhibition purposes. The year following, the Society moved into the historic building and has occupied it ever since.

Twenty-five years ago, the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research took possession of the Palace and in the years since then have gradually made the functions of the Society and its exhibits an integral part of their museum and activities. It is quite fitting therefore that the Museum is this year completing the re-arrangement of the exhibits, supplying them with scientific labels and making them of great educational value to visitors and students.

Since the last biennial report there has been a session of the State Legislature. Thanks to the friendship and aid of the late Governor Arthur Seligman and the interest of members of the Legislature, the Society received generous consideration in the appropriations, so necessary for the maintenance of its work.

Unfortunately, an item of one thousand dollars, to provide cases for the collection of old silver of Mrs. Neill B. Field of Albuquerque, must be permitted to lapse as Mrs. Field is seeking to make other disposal than had been anticipated at the time the Legislature made the appropriation.

My recommendation in the report for 1925-1926 that the various libraries of the Museum of New Mexico, the School of American Research, and the Historical Society be brought together, has been beautifully consummated under

the aegis of the New Mexico Library Extension Service, capably managed by its director, Martha Cochran, and her staff.

Under a Civil Works project, the cataloguing of the newspaper files of the Society has been begun by Mr. Percy Hodges, and while far from completed, sufficient has been accomplished to demonstrate the value of the undertaking. It has been a task which I had urged in previous reports, for its value to those seeking information from the extensive and invaluable files of the Society is self-evident.

Important work was also undertaken by the Civil Works Administration in translating and cataloguing the archives in the possession of the Cadastral Engineer in the Postoffice Building at Santa Fé. Vice-President José D. Sena is supervising the project, which assures its being done efficiently and meticulously. The Society is to receive for its library translations and a list of these archives, and Colonel Sena has promised to give a talk at one of the Society's monthly meetings and also to prepare a paper for the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW covering the results of this project. It is hoped that eventually the archives themselves will be transferred to the Museum of New Mexico and added to those already in its custody.

The Palace of the Governors, and especially the quarters of the Historical Society, are to receive for artistic embellishment, products of the skill of artists employed under a Government project. A large woodcarving, illustrative of the *entrada* of Diego de Vargas is to be fitted into the niche in the room adjoining the library on the south. An artistic woodcarving of the coat-of-arms of Oñate is to be placed on the library walls.

On the outside of the Palace, a tablet of stone, carved by a local artist, is to tell briefly the story of the historic building, so that those who pass under its *portales* may learn something of its import.

Since my last report, eight issues of THE REVIEW have appeared. Each number bears the impress of the scholar-

liness and devotion of our corresponding-secretary, Professor Lansing B. Bloom, who not only secures the contributions, does the editing, and himself contributes important papers, but also reads the proof on every word and sees each edition through the press. The recent appearance of a high school textbook of New Mexico history from his pen, gives New Mexico by far the most modern and best short state history of any commonwealth in the Union.

In addition to her many duties the curator of the Society, Miss Hester Jones, has been active in research work, such as a visit to the Navajo Reservation where she interviewed several old men and women as to their recollections of the exile to the Bosque Redondo during the Civil War days. Her notes are to be published during the current year. Similar research among the Pueblos is planned, thus approaching New Mexico traditions and history from an entirely new angle.

Again, I wish to call attention to the arrangement of exhibits by the curator of the Museum, Mr. Paul Reiter. The concisely worded and attractive labels tell the story of New Mexico in a colorful, logical, and impressive manner. Never before has the value of the work done by this Society been made so evident to the public through scientific labeling and chronological arrangement.

Pending before the Civil Works Administration is a project for a survey of county and municipal archives and records. If granted there will be eighteen research workers for the work in New Mexico at an expenditure of \$6,653.00. Your president, in making application for this survey, has emphasized to the National Committee on Research that the proportion of workers and funds to be allotted to New Mexico under the plan is inadequate as compared with the allotments to other states, and that an allotment based upon population rather than upon the scope of the work is illogical.

As in former years, the Society has received valuable

accessions through gifts and has added to its collections through purchase.

Its gratitude is due the Spanish Colonial Arts Society for loan exhibits, supplementing the historic display of the Historical Society itself.

Meetings of the Society have been well attended and addresses by guests of distinction have been notable.

To the Board of Regents of the Museum and to the Managing Committee of the School of American Research, to Director Edgar L. Hewett and to his fellow officers and staff, the president on behalf of the Society expresses his heartfelt appreciation for their wholehearted co-operation.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *President.*

February 20, 1934.

BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY-TREASURER, 1932-1933

During the last two calendar years the routine business of my dual office has continued to be cared for by our museum curator, Miss Hester Jones, who by our last election is now recording secretary. The joint arrangement with the State University continues, whereby your corresponding secretary is still associate in history with the School of American Research but is in residence at Albuquerque. One-fourth of my time at the university is allowed for my editorial work and since last summer my academic work is wholly with upper class and graduate students. By some of these students and my faculty colleagues an increasing use is being made of our library and archives at Santa Fé.

For one month each summer the State Museum has made it possible for us to progress in our archive work. Mrs. Bloom has continued her calendaring of our Mexican archives; and last summer also for a month we had the fine

photographic work of Mr. LeRoy Maddison in printing more of the films from Mexico City. Much remains to be done, since we are seriously handicapped by our limited funds.

In the high school textbook, *New Mexico History and Civics*, published last summer in collaboration with Dr. Thomas C. Donnelly, materials were used which came out of the research in Spain and Mexico made possible in part by our Society. I am glad to have opportunity again to express my sincere gratitude to the Society for having enabled me to do such research.

In 1931 Mrs. Sara Bourke James, eldest daughter of Lieutenant (later Captain) John G. Bourke, 3rd U. S. Cavalry, very graciously loaned us her father's field notebooks, thus making available for study and publication this very important body of manuscript material. It is a record of army life and ethnological studies, much of which is from the years during which Captain Bourke served in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. Before any of it could be used, much preliminary study and correspondence was necessary, but finally in the January 1933 issue of our quarterly appeared the first installment of "Bourke on the Southwest." This included a chronological analysis of Bourke's army life and a bibliography of all his known writings. The second installment is in the current issue and the material in preparation is so voluminous that the series may extend to the close of this biennium. Later the notebooks are to be deposited in the library at West Point.

About a year ago our good friend and fellow member, Mrs. Barbara Aitken, wrote on behalf of the executors of the Blackmore estate, Salisbury, England, offering a further gift of maps, books and papers relating to grant titles in the Southwest. This second consignment finally arrived this last summer and it was examined and reported upon at our August meeting by Judge Louis H. Warner. In the period following the Civil War, William Blackmore was representative in New Mexico of certain English mining interests, and

it was he who wrote the extended introduction to George Catlin's *North American Indians*. Some of the maps are very important additions to this branch of our library.

During the biennium about twenty new contributors to our HISTORICAL REVIEW have added considerably to the range of studies presented, but because of our financial limitations the quarterly for the past year has been somewhat reduced in size. In 1932 the total was 406 pages; in 1933 it has been 334 pages. If we could hold our present membership and resuscitate those who have dropped out from time to time during these last years we should be in excellent shape and might increase the scope of our quarterly. We should like to add a documentary section; and a section for more general notices and news. In every issue material is being held over or declined because we cannot pay for adequate space.

The following is a summarized statement from the treasurer's records for the past two years:

January 1932—Balance on hand	\$ 235.16	
January 1 to June 30		
Received from State	1,100.00	
Received from other sources	445.95	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,781.11	
Disbursed		\$1,468.09
Balance on hand		313.02
July 1932—Balance on hand	313.02	
July 1 to Jan. 1, 1933		
Received from State	825.00	
Received from other sources	400.25	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,538.27	
Disbursed		1,470.14
Balance on hand		68.13
January 1, 1933—Balance on hand	68.13	
January 1 to June 30		
Received from State	825.00	
Received from other sources	353.05	
	<hr/>	
	1,246.18	

Disbursed	1,101.53
Balance on hand	144.65
July 1, 1933—Balance on hand	144.65
July 1 to December 31	
Received from State	1,665.00
Received from other sources	291.23
	<hr/>
Disbursed	1,523.53
January 1, 1934—Balance on hand	577.35

Of the present balance shown (\$577.35), \$500 is half of the thousand which, as our president has already stated, must revert to the state. The net receipts of the past biennium (\$5,063.29) when compared with the similar amount for the preceeding biennium (\$7,677.86) show a decrease of one-third in revenue. This results from loss in subscriptions and decreased sales of our publications, offset only in some measure by the increased appropriation granted by the legislature. In short, our financial condition is not good, and we are able to carry on only by grace of our state appropriation and by reason of our arrangements with the State Museum and the State University.

As of January 1, 1934, our membership stands as follows:

Honorary life	6
Life members	35
Annual members	160
	<hr/>
Total	201

This is a net loss of 20% since our last biennium report.

Respectfully submitted,

LANSING B. BLOOM,

Corresponding Secretary-Treasurer.

February 20, 1934.

New Mexico History and Civics

By

LANSING B. BLOOM and THOMAS C. DONNELLY

COMMENTS OF READERS

"I have been through it twice. It is a splendid piece of work."—S. P. Nanninga, dean of the College of Education, State University.

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"We took an evening's dip into . . . *New Mexico History and Civics*. And, believe us, any history that's good enough to hold our attention these glorious moonlight nights is history with a glamour."—Margaret Page Hood, in *Las Cruces Citizen*, Aug. 31, 1933.

"This book . . . is a large scale interpretation of what white men, Spanish, Mexican, and American, have done since establishing themselves in the arid region known as New Mexico. . . . Professor Bloom constantly surprises the reader with fresh and important information. In particular, he illuminates again and again by brief touches the essential connection between continental Spain and her isolated New World colony. . . . Professor Donnelly makes it clear that history is not alone a pursuit for antiquarians, but a guide for practical men of today and tomorrow, and that government is a concern of voters as well as of politicians. . . . The volume is not likely to be superseded for a long time, and probably all the high schools of the state will sooner or later adopt it as an authorized text."—*Silver City Enterprise*, January 5, 1934.

"Filling a long felt need in the schools, the book also makes available for the public a one-volume interpretation of historical data that every resident of the state ought to read. The material is presented in interesting form and there is little about it to indicate that it is a textbook. . . . There is a bibliographical list that alone ought to be worth money for students of New Mexico history. . . . Every voter ought at least to read Dr. Donnelly's section on the make-government of the state, counties, and municipalities."—*Albuquerque Tribune*, Sept. 12, 1933.

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No. 3



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FRONTIER DEFENSE IN THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO, 1846-1853¹

By A. B. BENDER

THE Ninth Military Department was organized in 1848. Coinciding, for the most part, with the territory of New Mexico,² this vast domain embraced extensive and arid elevated plains, lofty and barren mountains, sandy deserts, and occasional fertile valleys. In the mid-nineteenth century a considerable portion of this region was practically a *terra incognita*. Despite its agricultural,³ grazing, and mineral⁴ possibilities it was considered a hopeless and inaccessible

1. This article is the second of a series dealing with the "New Mexican Frontier, 1846-1861." For an account of government explorations during this period, see A. B. Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 1-32.

2. R. P. Thian, *Notes illustrating the military geography of the United States, 1813-1880* (Washington, 1881), 45-50, 71. From 1846 to 1863, New Mexico of course included what is now Arizona; and southern Colorado until 1861.

3. Despite its reputation as a desert country, the territory possessed considerable agricultural areas. In 1850 Brevet Lieutenant Colonel George A. McCall, stationed in New Mexico, reported to Secretary of War Crawford more than 120,000 acres of land under cultivation and that some 300,000 acres of cultivated land lay vacant. In the sixties, William A. Bell, a scientist attached to the Southern Pacific Railroad Expedition, reported 500,000 acres of arable land available in the southern part of the territory. George A. McCall, *Letters from the frontier written during a period of thirty years' service in the army of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1868), 510; William A. Bell, *New tracks in North America* (London, 1869), II, 79-80.

4. The territory possessed excellent mineral deposits. Copper, silver, and gold were found in almost every section of the country. A plumbago (lead) mine was discovered in the late fifties. Deposits of zinc, tin, bismuth, antimony, arsenic, graphite, and alum were found in different localities. Richard C. McCormick, *Arizona: its resources and prospects* (New York, 1865), 5-6; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: the geography, history, and resources of the silver region of North America* (New York, 1864), 37-38, 193; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 52, p. 208.

sible desert. While hunters, traders, and trappers had explored it to some extent, their accounts were generally of a vague and marvellous character. With the exception of a few scholars who had delved into the old Spanish records, few people in the United States actually knew about the real character of the country. The impression prevailed that it was a worthless desert. The greater part was identified with the "Apache Country," a land of "burning deserts, parched mountains, dried up rivers, rattlesnakes, scorpions, Greasers, and Apache."⁵ In this mysterious and uninviting land the semi-agricultural and wild tribes periodically attacked the immigrants and scattered settlements. A frontier defense policy was urgent. This study attempts to show how the federal government evolved such a policy during 1846-1853.⁶

When the United States acquired the Mexican Cession, various tribes, representing different stages of civilization inhabited the region designated as the Ninth Military Department. The peaceful or Pueblo Indians lived in permanent villages, the semi-agricultural tribes had partially fixed habitations, and the wild tribes roamed everywhere. The various groups of Pueblo Indians in their twenty-odd communities, numbering between 7,000 and 10,000 souls,⁷ led a quiet and industrious life. Agriculture was their chief occupation and a system of irrigation was everywhere used.

5. J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache country: a tour through Arizona and Sonora with notes on the silver regions of Nevada* (New York, 1869), 11, 16, 27; Mowry, *opus cit.*, 176-177.

6. The defense policy was part of a general comprehensive program which embraced the greater part of the trans-Mississippi country. In the execution of this plan, government officers and engineers established military posts, negotiated treaties with the tribes, opened military and commercial routes, surveyed the principal western rivers, sank artesian wells, and explored the greater part of the Far West.

7. One group was located along the Rio Grande and its tributaries from Taos in the north to San Marcial in the south. The Zuñi were found between the Rio Grande and the frontier of the present state of Arizona. The Moqui lived north of the San Francisco mountains and the Little Colorado river. Adolph F. Bandelier, *Investigations among the Indians of the southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1890-1892), pt. 1, pp. 114-142; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico* (Washington, 1907-1910), II, 324.

Generally, the Pueblo were tractable, easily influenced and managed. Along the Gila and Colorado rivers and in the northern part of the department lived the semi-agricultural tribes, estimated at between 17,000 and 40,000. Of these, the Papago, Pima, and Maricopa were peaceful and friendly toward the whites. The Yuma, Mohave, and Navaho, however, gave considerable trouble.⁸ The Ute or Utah, Apache, and Apache-Mohave or Yavapai, the principal nomadic tribes, constituted the greatest danger and the chief concern of the federal government. Estimated at between 13,000 and 31,000, these bands roamed over a vast area. In the course of their wanderings across the present states of Colorado, eastern Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico, these hardy warriors struck terror into the hearts of white men and Indians alike. They depredated stock, robbed ranches, killed *rancheros*, and harrassed immigrant trains.⁹

During the Mexican regime, the wild Indians frequently swooped down upon the white settlements as well as upon the peaceful tribes of New Mexico. The government had been unable to keep them in check. In the course of the Mexican War the United States army came directly in contact with the Indians. When General Stephen W. Kearny entered Santa Fé and proclaimed the authority of the United States, representatives of the Pueblo, Navaho, Utah, and Apache offered submission.¹⁰ This peaceful acquiescence, however, was a mere gesture. Before long the Navaho broke out in revolt. Two expeditions under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan and Major William Gilpin, respectively, were sent against them before they were

8. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 50; Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1907-1926), II, 4-8, 27, 31, 32; Bandelier, *opus cit.*, pt. 1, pp. 102-103, 250-258; Hodge, *opus cit.*, I, 919.

9. James S. Calhoun, *Official Correspondence* (Annie H. Abel, ed., Washington, 1915), 7; John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches* (Santa Fé, 1868), 142; Bandelier, *opus cit.*, pt. 1, pp. 177-182; Hodge, *opus cit.*, II, 1874.

10. Stephen W. Kearny, *Letter Book, 1846-'47*, pp. 48-51, 64. Ms., Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis (hereafter cited as Kearny, *Letter Book*); Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 418.

quieted.¹¹ The peace treaty made at Bear Spring¹² on November 22, 1846 was not observed by the Indians.¹³

After concluding peace with the Navaho, Doniphan set out on another peaceful mission. Accompanied by several Navaho chiefs, he visited the Zuñi villages and succeeded in establishing friendly relations between them and the Navaho.¹⁴ Upon Doniphan's departure for Chihuahua and the arrival of Colonel Sterling Price, a new disturbance developed in which the Taos Indians were involved. In January, 1847, the Mexicans and Indians of Taos valley broke out in revolt and murdered Governor Charles Bent. The revolt spread rapidly to the east and south, but by July it was fairly quelled by the American troops.¹⁵ Many of the ringleaders were captured, tried, and punished.¹⁶

During the Mexican War there was great difficulty in maintaining the federal troops in New Mexico adequately supplied. The Indians committed depredations on army trains, drove off cattle, and killed many of the drivers. Early in 1847, Major W. H. T. Walker with a detachment of volunteers penetrated the Navaho country as far as Cañon de Chelly. This expedition, however, proved a failure and only served to increase the contempt of the Indians for the American troops. The following year Colonel Edward W. B. Newby, with a much larger force, conducted a third campaign against the troublesome Navaho, but like the former,

11. Doniphan led a force of 300 men from Santa Fé to Albuquerque and then into the Navaho country. Gilpin with about 180 men marched from Abiquiú and joined Doniphan at Ojo del Oso but there was no fight. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition* (Cincinnati, 1848), 143-185; Martha R. Barnidge, "Missouri in the Mexican War" (M. A. thesis, Washington University, 1923), 93-104; Kearny, *Letter Book*, 67-68.

12. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 540; Hughes, *opus cit.*, 188-189.

13. Barnidge, *opus cit.*, 107.

14. *Ibid.*, 104, 192-194.

15. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1848), 197; Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Cincinnati, 1850), 131-162; *Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 30, April 1, 9, July 24, August 2, September 22, 1847.

16. Four Mexicans and five Indians were executed at Taos. Barnidge, *opus cit.*, 139.

accomplished nothing but the negotiation of a treaty. This agreement the Indians promptly disregarded and continued their depredations on a greater scale.¹⁷

In the meantime the policy of establishing military posts in the department was inaugurated. Prior to the Mexican War there were only fifty-six military posts in the entire United States.¹⁸ The coming of the war created an immediate necessity for stationing troops in the Indian country. In his report of November 10, 1846, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Medill, Governor Bent of New Mexico territory pointed out the necessity of establishing "stockaded forts" in the Utah and Navaho countries. Bent recommended that one post be located at some suitable point on the Arkansas river for the protection of travellers between Missouri and New Mexico. Another was to be established in the southern part of the territory to guard against the Apache and the Mexicans who might try to reconquer New Mexico.¹⁹

At the end of the Mexican War a definite defense policy was inaugurated. In December, 1848, orders were issued from the Adjutant General's Office for a careful examination of Texas, New Mexico, Oregon, and California by competent authorities assisted by officers of the Corps of Engineers and Topographical Engineers. The examinations were to be made with a view toward locating permanent military posts.²⁰ In the selection of sites, the officers and engi-

17. This treaty is not listed in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties* (Washington, 1904). Presumably it was not ratified by the United States senate. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 8, p. 545; Barnidge, *opus cit.*, 140-141.

18. These posts were distributed among the eight military departments, comprised within two divisions: twenty-nine posts in the Eastern Division,—departments 5, 6, 7, 8 and twenty-seven posts in the Western Division,—departments 1, 2, 3, 4. *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pp. 220-228.

After the Mexican War there was a reorganization. According to General Orders Number 49, issued from the adjutant general's office, August 31, 1848, the departments were renumbered. The Eastern Division comprised departments 1, 2, 3, 4 and the Western consisted of departments 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. A Third Division (Pacific) was created to consist of Departments 10 and 11 (California and Oregon). *Sen. Docs.*, 29 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pp. 220C-220E; General Order Books, XII, 1847-1850, p. 211. *Ms.*, O. R. S., A. G. O.

19. Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 8.

20. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 161.

neers were to be guided by the following considerations: (1) protection to the white settlers; (2) economy and facility in supporting the troops; (3) defense of Mexican territory against Indians within the borders of the United States.²¹

The defense policy in New Mexico, as in other portions of the Far West, was characterized by a gradual evolutionary development. The government did not establish modes of defense on its western frontiers according to any definite plan. Military posts appeared at different points only when the need was most urgent. Fort Marcy, the first military post in the territory, was built by General Kearny to protect the frontier settlements.²² At the close of the war, federal troops were stationed in several villages of the territory. One company of the First Dragoons was located at Taos, a second at Albuquerque, and a third at Socorro. Garrisons of about twenty men were placed at Tomé and Doña Ana. At Fort Marcy were stationed one company of the Third Artillery and a company of the Second Dragoons.²³

While the defense program was being inaugurated President Polk announced his Indian policy. Despite the bad faith shown by the New Mexican Indians, he recommended fairness and leniency. He believed that the presence of Indian agents among the tribes, distribution of gifts, and the maintenance of a small military force would secure the Indians' good will and be sufficient to preserve the peace. The president's plan was tried but it proved ineffective.²⁴ The renewed westward migration, the niggardliness of congress, and the lack of a definite and firm policy by the offi-

21. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 117, 125, 243.

22. Fort Marcy was situated some 600 yards from the heart of Santa Fé. Construction was begun in the latter part of August, 1846, the work being done by volunteers aided by Mexican masons. L. B. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1922), 180; John S. Billings, *Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington, 1870), 257; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, p. 32.

23. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 165.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

cials within the department failed to check the Indian menace.²⁵

In the meantime the Apache went on the warpath. In the winter of 1848 several scouting parties followed in pursuit but accomplished no definite results. On November 13, Lieutenant Joseph H. Whittlesey, First Dragoons, with a force of some fifty dragoons and six mountaineers as guides left Taos in search of Apache reported in the vicinity of Rio de los Animas. After a two days' march Whittlesey gave up the chase because of a severe snowstorm.²⁶ In the same month Sergeant Charles Williams, First Dragoons, led a detachment of forty-three men against another band. Some sixty miles west of Taos, Williams encountered the Indians but there was no fight. Williams held a parley with the principal chiefs and impressed upon them the necessity for peace and friendship with the white men.²⁷ A report having reached the command at Taos that F. X. Aubry's²⁸ wagon train, on the way from Santa Fé, had been attacked by Apache, a third expedition left Taos in the latter part of December. Major B. L. Beall with a detachment of forty-eight dragoons got as far as the valley of the Green Horn. After a week's march Beall, too, was compelled to abandon the chase because of a severe snow storm. He had found no trace of Apache but he had met Aubry's train intact. The rumor of the Indian attack had proved false.²⁹

In the spring of 1849 the federal government moved several of the Indian agencies westward. The agency of the

25. Anne E. Whittaker, "The Frontier Policy of the United States in the Mexican Cession, 1845-1860" (M. A. thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 157; Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 659, 662-663.

26. Joseph H. Whittlesey to John Adams, November 18, 1848. Ms., Letters Received, Headquarters of the Army, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.).

27. Charles Williams to L. Beall, December 4, 1848. Ms. L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

28. For Aubry's famous rides and subsequent career, see R. P. Bieber, "Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-1854," in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 190, footnote 29; Prince, *opus cit.*, 171, 193-194.

29. L. Beall to John H. Dickerson, January 16, 1849. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

Upper Missouri was moved to Salt Lake City and the agency at Council Bluffs was moved to Santa Fé.³⁰ James S. Calhoun³¹ was appointed Indian agent and Washington Barrow of Tennessee and John C. Hays of San Antonio were made sub-agents.³² Calhoun was directed by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill to gather statistical and other information that would give an intelligent understanding of the Indian situation in the department.³³

Calhoun arrived at Santa Fé on July 22. A week later he wrote to Medill that the Indian presumed a great deal upon his knowledge of a safe retreat into the mountains; he could not be restrained until he was chastised.³⁴ As a protection against the Navaho, Calhoun urged that military posts be established at Tunicha, in the Cañon de Chelly, at or near Jemez, Zuñi, Laguna, and in the Pueblo country. Upon this recommendation, forces were stationed at once at Cebolletita and Jemez, strategic positions for defense against the Navaho.³⁵

Meanwhile the Apache and Navaho again disturbed the frontier and punitive expeditions were sent against them. On May 30, 1849, Captain W. W. Chapman led a company of

30. Thomas Ewing to William Medill, March 29, April 11, 13, 1849. Ms., Letter Books, Secretary of Interior, Indian Division, Department of Interior, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., L. B., S. I., I. D., D. I.)

31. James S. Calhoun was an outstanding figure in the Territory of New Mexico in handling the government's Indian affairs in the early years. A southerner by birth, he had served with distinction in the Mexican War. At first he was appointed as United States Indian agent at Santa Fé and later promoted to the office of superintendent of Indian affairs and governor of the territory. Calhoun was thoroughly capable, honest, and intelligent—a rare instance in the Indian service of the period. Though occasionally maligned by his enemies, he accomplished considerable for the frontier territory. He died in June, 1852, on the plains between Santa Fé and Kansas. Calhoun, *opus cit.*, Introduction, xi-xiii.

32. As Indian agent, Calhoun's salary was \$1,500 per year. He was authorized to employ one interpreter at \$300 per year and an additional interpreter at not to exceed \$200. Calhoun was also authorized to spend an additional \$300 to secure the release of Mexicans held captive by the Indians. Ewing to Medill, March 29, April 5, 11, 13, 1849. Ms., L. B., S. I., I. D., D. I.

33. Medill to Calhoun, April 7, 1849. Ms., Letter Books, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Indian Office, Department of Interior, Washington (hereafter cited as L. B., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.).

34. Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 17-19.

35. *Ibid.*, 31, 35, 36, 77; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 17, pp. 199, 212-225.

forty men against a band of Apache who had murdered a number of settlers near Abiquiú. After a sharp engagement the Indians were routed with a loss of twenty warriors. The following August federal troops had two encounters with Apache and made an elaborate show of strength against the Navaho, but with slight effect. Lieutenant (later Major General) A. E. Burnside, Third Artillery, and his command chastised some forty Apache in the vicinity of Las Vegas. At the same time Brevet Major Enoch Steen, First Dragoons, and a company of fifty men tracked a band of Apache to the Santa Rita Copper Mines and defeated them.³⁶ It was only after an elaborate expedition against the Navaho, led by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Washington, military commander and governor of New Mexico territory, that this tribe was seemingly humbled and sued for peace.

Washington's imposing army of 175 men, with its wagons, pack-mules, artillery³⁷ and thirty days' rations for 500 men left Santa Fé on August 16, 1849 for Cañon de Chelly, the reputed stronghold of the Navaho. At Jemez the command was increased to 400 men.³⁸ Marching westward the army arrived at Cañon de Chelly on September 6 and three days later Washington and Calhoun entered into a treaty with the Navaho. Through their chiefs, Mariano Martinez and Chapitone, the Indians agreed to deliver all the American, Mexican and Indian captives, restore stock and other stolen property, and surrender the murderers of the citizens of Jemez as soon as apprehended. The treaty also provided for free passage through their territory and for the establishment of military posts and agencies. The Navaho gave up the Mexicans and a part of the stolen prop-

36. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 5, pt. 1, pp. 108-111; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 24, pp. 16-29; E. Steen to J. H. Dickerson, September 1, 1849. Ms., Letters Received, Chief of Topographical Engineers, Old Records Section, Office of Chief of Engineers, Washington (hereafter cited as L. R., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.).

37. This consisted of one six-pounder and three mountain howitzers. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 64, pp. 60-61.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

erty, agreeing to deliver the remainder at Jemez within thirty days. The government was to distribute gifts and fix the boundaries of the Navaho at an early date.³⁹ This treaty, like those that preceded it, was a dead letter. The Navaho reverted to their old practices and military forces had to be sent against them.⁴⁰

Meanwhile the frontier settlers demanded greater protection. A convention of New Mexican citizens at Santa Fé on September 24, 1849 petitioned the federal government for the permanent establishment of two regiments and the erection of a military post in the heart of the Navaho country.⁴¹ On October 15 Calhoun wrote to Medill that a military post was being established south of Albuquerque and a month later that posts were being erected at Cebolleta⁴² and at Jemez. In his report of November 28, 1849, Adjutant General R. Jones listed seven military posts in the department, occupied by 885 troops.⁴³

A month later Calhoun negotiated a treaty with the Utah at Abiquiú similar to the one agreed upon by the Navaho.⁴⁴ Calhoun next proposed a plan for the maintenance of peace in the territory as a whole. He suggested that treaties should be made with all of the tribes who should be confined within specified limits; intercourse between tribes should be limited; the Indians should be instructed and compelled to cultivate the soil; above all, the Indians should be made to respect the power of the federal government. To

39. It was not until June 1, 1868, however, that the government fixed the boundaries of the Navaho. *Ibid.*, p. 107; United States, *Statutes at Large, 1789-1863* (Boston, 1852-1867), IX, 974-975; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1899), pt. 2, pp. 780, 848-849.

40. J. P. Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* (New York, 1886), 258; T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1915), I, 308-309.

41. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 17, pp. 93, 104.

42. Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 57, 77; George A. McCall to R. Jones, October 1, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

43. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 5, pt. 1, p. 188D.

44. This treaty was signed by Quixiachigate, the principal chief, and twenty-seven subordinate Utah chieftains. It was approved by Brevet Colonel John Munroe, civil and military governor of the territory and ratified by the senate on September 9, 1850. Kappler, *opus cit.*, II, 585-587.

carry out this program, Indian agencies were to be established among the tribes.⁴⁵ In reply to Calhoun's proposals, congress, in December, 1850, made the necessary appropriations. Indian agents were appointed, who were also to serve as commissioners. They were instructed to collect statistical and other information concerning the Indians of the Southwest and to cultivate friendly relations whenever possible.⁴⁶ It was not, however, until July, 1851, that the Indian agents, Richard H. Weightman⁴⁷ and John Greiner, arrived.⁴⁸

Despite Calhoun's honest and persistent efforts, conditions in the department did not improve. The Apache again became troublesome. On February 5, 1850, Brevet Major Steen, commanding at Doña Ana, wrote to Lieutenant L. McLaws, acting assistant adjutant general at Santa Fé, that the Apache in broad daylight and within a mile of the garrison, drove off cattle and captured Mexican citizens. They also continued the practice of seizing Mexicans,⁴⁹ and Indians of other tribes and holding them for ransom.⁵⁰ To check these practices, Steen led several unsuccessful expeditions against these lawless bands. The physical conditions of the country were against him. Often the trails led into impassable cañons or sandy deserts and he was forced to give up the chase.⁵¹

In the early part of May an express party from the United States had been cut off by Indians about forty miles east of Las Vegas, and the entire party of eleven men was

45. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 17, pp. 223-224.

46. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 28, 29, 42.

47. Like Calhoun, Richard Hanson Weightman was a prominent figure in the affairs of New Mexico during the fifties. For an account of his career, see R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 304-305.

48. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 3, p. 461.

49. The Indian appears to have been the natural enemy of the Mexican for he killed him whenever he found him and frequently for no plausible reason. Mexicans had such dread of Indians that they rarely met them in open combat and generally fled at the first indication of their presence. *Ibid.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 328.

50. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 68-70, 137.

51. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 68-74.

massacred.⁵² Army officers stationed at various points in the department reported depredations by the Navaho in the vicinity of Cebolleta and on the Puerco.⁵³ At the same time the territorial legislature complained that the Indians were again robbing, killing, and carrying off inhabitants into captivity. Plundering was carried on chiefly by Apache and Navaho in close proximity to the military posts. Within eighteen months, the property loss, mainly in sheep, mules, cattle, and horses, was estimated at \$114,500.⁵⁴

To obtain greater security, suggestions appeared from various quarters. Hugh N. Smith, the New Mexican delegate to congress, recommended the appointment of Indian agents to the Comanche, southern Apache, Navaho, Utah, and northern Apache.⁵⁵ The Pueblo, too, needed agents to advise them in the settlement of their land claims. These agents were to be aided by a strong military force. Smith was of the opinion that the Indians considered the United States government weak,—a belief resulting from long delays and failures to check depredations.⁵⁶

Superintendent of Indian Affairs D. D. Mitchell suggested that a treaty be made with all the tribes west of the Missouri to the northern line of Texas, embracing the Indians of the mountains and including those of New Mexico. He recommended that a council be held at Fort Laramie where a sufficient military force could be displayed and thus inspire the Indians with awe and respect. His plan provided for the establishment of definite boundaries, each tribe being held responsible for depredations committed in

52. McCall, *opus cit.*, 493-494.

53. John Buford to L. McLaws, June 10, 25, 1850, W. H. Gordon to McLaws, May 27, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

54. The amount of property stolen by the Apache was incalculable. According to the returns of the United States marshalls there were stolen in New Mexico alone, between August 1, 1846, and October 1, 1850, no less than 12,887 mules, 7,050 horses, 31,581 horned cattle, and 453,293 head of sheep. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 558; McCall, *opus cit.*, 526-527; David Y. Thomas, "The History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States," in Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, XX, No. 2, pp. 150-151.

55. Orlando Brown to Calhoun, April 24, 1850. Ms., L. B., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

56. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 142-143.

its territory. To compensate them for the loss of buffalo, timber, and grass, the Indians were to be paid \$40,000 annually in Indian goods. Mitchell also suggested that representatives of the different tribes be invited to visit Washington.⁵⁷ Secretary of War Charles M. Conrad also advocated a peace policy. He suggested that the federal government should adopt some system whereby the Indian would be induced to abandon his wandering life and settle down in villages, engaging in agricultural pursuits.⁵⁸

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown suggested a display of force. He believed that the New Mexico Indians could be adequately controlled only through fear. To accomplish this end, he, like Mitchell, proposed that large delegations of Indians be assembled at some point in the presence of a considerable military force. A similar effect, Brown, believed, might be achieved by bringing representatives of the principal tribes to some of the larger cities.⁵⁹

Captain A. W. Bowman, Third Infantry, stationed at El Paso, believed that the only way to control the Indians was to establish military posts in their own country. He recommended, therefore, that one post be established at the Santa Rita Copper Mines and another in the Sacramento Mountains, some 200 miles northeast of El Paso. The troops at these prospective posts co-operating with the garrisons at Doña Ana and El Paso, Bowman believed would be sufficient to check the 2,000 or more Apache warriors who threatened this area.⁶⁰ To keep the Navaho and Utah in check, Assistant Quartermaster Thomas L. Brent recommended that one post be located between the Pecos and the Rio Grande, a second between the Rio Grande and the Colorado of the West, and a third on the Gila River.⁶¹ Adjutant General Roger Jones also advocated the establishment of posts in the heart of the Indian country, with sufficiently

57. Sen. Ex. Docs., 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, pp. 4-5.

58. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 5.

59. Brown to Calhoun, April 24, 1850. Ms., L. B., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

60. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 295-296.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 293-295.

large garrisons to pursue and punish troublesome and dangerous Indians.⁶²

In response to these recommendations, several reconnaissances for military posts followed. In the spring of 1850 Captain Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, made an examination along the Pecos. With Light Company C, equipped as cavalry, and a train of five wagons Judd travelled about 200 miles from Las Vegas to the southern extremity of the Bosque Grande. Judd considered the Bosque Redondo and Bosque Grande particularly suitable for mounted garrisons.⁶³ A military post along the Pecos, however, was not selected until the time of the Civil War.⁶⁴ In March Major Steen reported to Lieutenant McLaws that he had made an examination of the Santa Rita Copper Mine country and found it suitable for the location of a military post.⁶⁵ The following month Captain W. N. Grier examined the New Mexican frontier and found that the line to be defended passed through Abiquiú, the Rio Colorado, Rayada, La Junta, Las Vegas, and San Miguel,—a broken and mountainous country. Grier reported to McLaws if the settlements within this line were to be adequately protected and the two roads leading to the United States were to be kept open, additional military posts would be necessary.⁶⁶

Inspector General George A. McCall made a tour of inspection⁶⁷ of the military posts of the department. In his

62. Roger Jones to George Deas, June 5, 1850. Ms., L. R., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.

63. Henry B. Judd to L. McLaws, March 30, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.; See also Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 12-14.

64. Cremony, *opus cit.*, 199-200.

65. E. Steen to L. McLaws, March 26, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

66. W. N. Grier to L. McLaws, June 6, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

67. McCall arrived in Santa Fé on March 11, 1850. His instructions directed him to make a tour of the department. In addition to the regular inspection of the troops, military posts, and staff departments, he was to gather information about the character of the country and its inhabitants. McCall's inspection, extending from August 29 through October, included the posts at Abiquiú, Taos, Rayada, and Las Vegas in the north and Albuquerque, Cebolleta, Socorro, Doña Ana, El Paso, and San Elizario in the south. McCall, *opus cit.*, 490, 495-525.

report to Adjutant General Jones, December 24, 1850, McCall maintained that the only effective way to distribute troops in New Mexico was to post them in the heart of the Indian country; forces should be of sufficient strength to overawe the Indians. McCall, accordingly, recommended the establishment of three such military posts: one was to be located in the Navaho country near Cañon de Chelly; a second in the Apache country, somewhere on the eastern slope of the Sacramento Mountains; a third on the Gila or near the old Santa Rita Copper Mine. These posts were to be strongly garrisoned with forces ranging from 350 to 500 men, each.⁶⁸ At the close of 1850 troops were stationed at eleven different points in the department. Mounted forces were reported at Las Vegas, Santa Fé, Albuquerque, Doña Ana,⁶⁹ Socorro, Rayada,⁷⁰ and Abiquiú, in addition to the infantry at these places and at Taos, San Elizario, and El Paso.⁷¹ In November, the post at the mouth of the Gila was temporarily established which later became the famous Fort Yuma.⁷²

In the meantime Colonel Edwin V. Sumner assumed command of the Ninth Military Department,⁷³ having marched from Fort Leavenworth with a considerable force.

68. George A. McCall to Roger Jones, Dec. 24, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

69. Doña Ana was an important position for a dragoon force. It had been a favorite crossing for the Apache while making incursions into Mexico. McCall to Jones, October 10, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

70. As a site for a military post, Rayada possessed many advantages. About forty miles east of Taos, it was close to the border of the great plains, was well screened from observation, and commanded an excellent view from its rear. It was near the range of the Comanche and also within striking distance of the wintering places of the Apache on the Canadian and of the prairie tribes of the headwaters of the Arkansas. McCall to Jones, September 16, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

71. McCall did not believe that a strong garrison should be maintained at El Paso. Its importance as a principal crossing place on the route to and from Chihuahua was already supplanted by the lower road crossing at San Elizario, some twenty miles below. The lower road was preferred as it avoided the "sand hills." *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 110; McCall to Jones, October 12, 1850. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

72. For the history of this post see Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 15, footnote 42.

73. Sumner assumed command on July 19, 1851. For a brief account of his career see William Hutchinson, "Sketches of Pioneer Kansas Experience," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, VII, 393; Thian, *opus cit.*, 50.

Under his direction government farms⁷⁴ were cultivated by the troops but with little success. In addition to agricultural implements, Sumner brought fine horses and cattle. His instructions directed him to select new sites for military posts, to co-operate with the superintendent of Indian affairs of the territory, to punish the Indians, and to reduce expenditures.⁷⁵

While Sumner proceeded to carry out his manifold instructions Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup and Secretary of War Conrad exchanged views as to the most effective distribution of troops on the western frontiers. Jesup believed that large bodies of troops should be stationed in a few strong garrisons and thus create an impression of military power.⁷⁶ Conrad was of the opinion that the Indians were best overawed by a constant display of military force in their own immediate neighborhood. He maintained that troops should be located as near the frontiers as possible.⁷⁷ Jesup and Conrad agreed that the troops should be removed from their locations in the small villages.

On the whole, Conrad's views prevailed. To test his plan, Quartermaster Thomas Swords was sent to New Mexico in May, 1851, to make a survey and suggest necessary changes. Swords made a thorough examination of all the towns where troops were located. He found many unfavorable conditions such as high rents, shortage of water, grass, timber, and an unhealthy condition of the soldiers' morals.⁷⁸ Upon Swords's order the troops were moved from the villages to the frontier. Three new military posts—Forts

74. By General Orders Number 1, issued from the adjutant general's office, on January 8, 1851, a novel plan was tried in the United States army. To promote the health of the troops and to reduce the expense of subsistence, a system of kitchen gardens was instituted in the permanent posts and stations. The work was to be done by the soldiers. A program of more extended field cultivation, embracing the cultivation of grain for bread and forage and long forage was also contemplated for the frontier posts. This ambitious scheme was tried, proved a failure, and was ultimately abolished. General Orders, Number 1, January 8, 1851. Ms., General Order Books, XIII, O. R. S., A. G. O.; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 35.

75. Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 285.

76. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 225.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-239.

Conrad,⁷⁹ Fillmore,⁸⁰ and Union⁸¹—thus came into existence. In addition to the distribution of troops at the various posts, Sumner sent out Brevet Major James H. Carleton with a company of dragoons to scour the plains between Fort Union and the Arkansas River.⁸²

The federal government had ordered the establishment of military posts, the formulation of treaties, and the appointment of Indian agents. None of these solved the Indian difficulties. In February of 1851 congress extended over the New Mexico territory all the existing laws of trade and intercourse with the Indians, at the same time providing for the appointment of four Indian agents at an annual salary of \$1,500 each.⁸³ Calhoun was the first governor under the regular territorial government.⁸⁴ As the limits of authority of the civil and military officials were not clearly defined, his position was rather trying. Colonel Sumner disagreed with him about the method of defense.⁸⁵ Sumner and the inhabitants also clashed.⁸⁶

This lack of harmony emboldened the Indians to renew their depredations. On March 18, 1851, Calhoun issued a

79. Fort Conrad, situated at Valverde, occupied an elevated position of more than 4,000 feet above sea level. In 1853 the post was moved a few miles to the south and renamed Fort Craig. *Ibid.*, p. 203; John Garland to L. Thomas, October 29, 1853. Ms., Letters Received, Adjutant General, Old Files Section, Executive Division, Adjutant General's Office, Washington (hereafter cited as L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.).

80. Fort Fillmore was located on the east side of the Rio Grande about forty miles north of El Paso. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 58.

81. Fort Union, situated about 100 miles northeast of Santa Fé, was to serve as a check upon the northern Apache and Utah. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 52, pp. 221-222; Billings, *opus cit.*, 260.

82. Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 417.

83. From 1851 to the eve of the Civil War a long list of Indian agents appeared in the territory. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 3, p. 446; Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 299, footnote 223.

84. Calhoun was inaugurated on March 3, 1851. Ms., Territorial Papers, listed in D. W. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives Relating to Territories of the United States to 1873* (Washington, 1911), Number 5304, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Archives Division, Department of State, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms. T. P., Parker, Number B. R. L., A. D., D. S.). The Territorial Papers used were typewritten, collated copies.

85. Prince, *opus cit.*, 192.

86. See pp. 269 *infra*.

proclamation authorizing the raising of a volunteer corps for the protection of the citizens of the territory against incursions of hostile Indians. He also authorized the Pueblo Indians to attack any tribe of Navaho that might approach their towns.⁸⁷ To President Fillmore, Calhoun wrote, "Until the Apache and Navaho are completely subdued we can have neither quiet nor prosperity in this territory."⁸⁸ In October, Indian agent John Greiner⁸⁹ reported that a large band of Kiowa and Arapaho had made several attacks on a peaceful Utah village, about thirty miles from Taos, had driven off all their stock, and had captured a number of women and children. The Utah were forced to retreat to Ojo Caliente where they were uniting their forces for a retaliatory attack.⁹⁰ The Navaho continue their depredations. The wild tribes of the territory continued their incursions into Mexico, attacking settlements in Sonora.⁹¹ Four new military posts appeared in 1852. As a bulwark against the Navaho, Fort Defiance⁹² and Cantonment Burgwin⁹³ were

87. Calhoun's proclamations, March 18, 19, 1851. Ms. T. P., Parker, Numbers 5307, 5308, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

88. Calhoun to Fillmore, March 29, 1851. Ms., Letters Received, Secretary of War, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., S. W., O. R. S., A. G. O.).

89. Like Calhoun, Greiner was a capable and honest official who was held in high esteem by both Americans and Indians. Between July, 1851 and May, 1853, he served in the capacity of Indian agent, acting superintendent of Indian affairs, and secretary of the territory. Bieber, *loc. cit.*, III, 189, footnote 25.

90. John Greiner to Calhoun, October 20, 1851. Ms. T. P., Parker, Number 5324, Bureau of Index and Archives, Miscellaneous, A. D., D. S. (hereafter Bureau of Index and Archives, Miscellaneous cited as B. I. A., Misc.)

91. Conrad to E. A. Hitchcock, October 30, 1851. Ms., L. B., S. W., O. R. S., A. G. O.

92. Fort Defiance, some 190 miles west of Albuquerque was very strategically located, being at the mouth of Cañon Bonito, a favorite resort of the Navaho, and near fertile valleys and good water. On the eve of the Civil War it was considered the most isolated post of the frontier. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, pp. 424-426; "Reminiscences of Fort Defiance," in *Military Service Institutions of the United States*, IV, 90-91.

93. Cantonment Burgwin was named in honor of Captain Henry John K. Burgwin who had been mortally wounded at Taos on February 4, 1847. The post was situated in a beautiful but rough and mountainous country, about nine miles from Taos. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 60; L. S. Lane, *I Married a Soldier* (Philadelphia, 1893), 46-47.

built in the Navaho country. Fort Webster⁹⁴ was established in the Santa Rita Copper Mine district; Fort Massachusetts,⁹⁵ the most northerly post in the territory, was built as a protection against the Utah and Apache.

Throughout 1852 the civil and military authorities in the department were formulating treaties and planning military programs in attempts to keep the Indians in check. In the winter of 1851-1852, Sumner and Calhoun met a large party of Navaho warriors and several principal chieftains at Jemez and proposed another treaty. Sumner told them plainly that unless they would cease their depredations the troops at Fort Defiance would prevent a single blade of grain from being raised. Many of the assembled Indians at first refused to consider the proposition of a treaty but finally, after an exciting council among themselves, agreed to sign and make binding the treaty previously concluded with Colonel Washington. The chieftains promised that the young braves would remain quiet in the future and that they would surrender all their Mexican prisoners. They gave hostages as a pledge of keeping the faith,⁹⁶ a pledge which was readily broken.

This treaty was accompanied by a display of energy by both the military and civil authorities of the department. On February 3, Sumner wrote to Adjutant General Jones that he had ordered a concentration of troops at Fort Conrad and had directed Major Howe to move immediately into the Apache country with three companies of cavalry and one of infantry.⁹⁷ A week later Calhoun wrote to Sumner re-

94. Fort Webster was situated about eight miles east-northeast of the Santa Rita Copper Mines, in the northeastern part of Grant county. The post does not seem to have had the desired effect upon the Indians. It was abandoned in December, 1853, and the troops removed to Fort Thorn. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 80. John Garland to S. Cooper, October 29, 1853. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

95. Fort Massachusetts was located in a sheltered valley on Utah Creek, about eighty-five miles north of Taos. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 60.

96. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 541; Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 434.

97. E. V. Sumner to R. Jones, February 3, 1852. *Ms.*, T. P., Parker, Number 5345, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

questing 500 stands of arms for the purpose of holding in check and chastising the Apache by an immediate expedition into their country with the militia of the territory. This request was refused.⁹⁸ In the same month Calhoun also wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea that he had sent S. M. Baird and Charles Overman, special agents for the Navaho and Apache, to Jemez and Socorro, respectively, to keep an eye on those Indian bands.⁹⁹ When the Gila Apache were committing depredations at San Antonio, between Valverde and Socorro, Sumner ordered a movement of troops there and issued an order for 100 stands of arms with ammunition for the use of the inhabitants in that district. However, as Lieutenant-Colonel Horace Brooks, commander at Santa Fé, was short of carbines and cartridges, the arms and ammunition were not issued.¹⁰⁰

Calhoun felt very much discouraged. In the latter part of February he wrote to Secretary of State Webster about the Indian dangers and about the inadequacy of the military protection. He pointed out that the federal troops in the territory were practically useless. Because of the feeble and half starved condition of their horses, the mounted men were unable to perform their duty. Infantry was of no value. The Indians were becoming bolder and bolder. The Apache had attacked federal troops and had forced them to retreat. On the *jornada* between Fort Conrad and Fort Fillmore, parties were being entirely cut off. The San Elizario-Santa Fé and San Antonio mail had been attacked despite the presence of military escort. A train of wagons loaded with government freight from Fort Fillmore to the Copper Mines had also been destroyed, the teamsters alone escaping. Calhoun enclosed a petition from the citizens of Socorro county signed by Rafael B. Garcia and 142

98. Calhoun to E. V. Sumner, February 11, 1852. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5342, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

99. Calhoun to Luke Lea, February 29, 1852. Ms. L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

100. Sumner to Calhoun, March 21, 1852, D. V. Whiting to Sumner and H. Brooks, March 27, 1852, Calhoun to Sumner, March 28, 1852. Ms., T. P., Parker, Numbers 5348, 5349, 5350, 5353, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

others, requesting greater protection.¹⁰¹ Suffering from ill-health and despairing of bringing about law and order in the territory, Calhoun, on May 6, 1852 left for the states.

Sumner again made a temporary display of energy.¹⁰² He established a strong military force in Santa Fé, formed a large camp at Albuquerque,¹⁰³ and negotiated a treaty with the Apache.¹⁰⁴ Conditions, however, did not improve. On June 23, Douglas presented to the senate a memorial from the citizens of New Mexico Territory, pleading for more adequate protection.¹⁰⁵ In response, Secretary of War Conrad promised that a detachment of mounted troops, nearly 100 strong, would leave Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fé about the middle of August.¹⁰⁶ But the promise of a mere 100 additional men meant little. A much larger force was needed. In November C. H. Merritt, marshall in New Mexico Territory, wrote to Secretary of State Seward that Indian outrages and depredations continued and that the military establishment was entirely inadequate to cope with the situation. He suggested that premission be granted to raise 1,000 mounted riflemen.¹⁰⁷

The New Mexico press championed the cause of frontier defense. It took Sumner to task for his peace policy and lack of military energy. The *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*

101. Calhoun to Daniel Webster, February 29, 1852. Ms., T. P. Parker, Numbers 5340, 5341, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

102. Upon Calhoun's departure, John Greiner was placed in charge of civil and Indian affairs, the position he held until the arrival of Governor Lane. When Sumner evinced a desire to take over the governorship, Secretary of War Conrad warned him against supplanting civil by military authority. He ordered Sumner to refrain from all interference in civil affairs. Conrad to Sumner, December 23, 1852. Ms., L. B., S. W., O. R. S., A. G. O.

103. Sumner to Webster, May 8, 1852. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5359, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

104. On July 1, Sumner and Greiner met a half dozen Apache chiefs at Santa Fé and concluded a treaty. The usual promises were made by both parties to the agreement. This treaty was ratified by the senate on March 23, 1853. United States, *Statutes at Large*, X, 107-109.

105. *Senate Journal*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 485.

106. Conrad to Webster, July 30, 1852. Ms., T. P. Parker, Number 5370, B. I. A., Misc., A. D., D. S.

107. C. H. Merritt to W. H. Seward, November 30, 1852. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5375, Senate Files, A. D., D. S.

maintained that Sumner did not overawe the Indians. Peace had been bought rather than conquered. The wild tribes feigned friendship only when congress appropriated money with which to buy them presents. It was not Colonel Sumner but the "red cloths and calico shirts" that had cowed the Indians. Sumner retaliated. In a letter in the *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853, he characterized the mass of the New Mexican population as "thoroughly debased and totally incapable of self-government." He went so far as to advocate the removal of the military posts, permitting the civil population to take care of its own defense.¹⁰⁸ Great resentment followed, resulting in Sumner's removal.¹⁰⁹

Despite reports of Indian depredations and the continual clamor for greater military protection, Secretary of War Conrad in his report to the president, December 4, 1852, maintained that Indian depredations in New Mexico Territory had been stopped. The Navaho and Apache, he stated, had been completely overawed and manifested a desire to be at peace with the whites.¹¹⁰ Conrad's sanguine report was not borne out by the existing conditions on the New Mexican frontier.

William Carr Lane,¹¹¹ who had succeeded Calhoun as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico Territory, had a theory of his own for solving the Indian problem. Being an advocate of peace, he believed that the most economical and effective way of keeping the Indians quiet was to feed and not to fight them. Accordingly, he made provisional treaties with some of the northeast and southwest Apache bands, agreeing to furnish food for five years and other aid to all that would work. Without waiting for approval of these treaties, Lane spent between \$20,000 and \$40,000 in the execution of his experiment.¹¹²

108. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, February 26, March 5, 1853.

109. See footnote 116.

110. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 3; Calhoun, *opus cit.*, 290.

111. For a brief account of Lane's career, see Bieber, *loc. cit.*, III, 180-182, 197-201; Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 293, footnote 218.

112. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 432; *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, December 31, 1853.

A considerable number of northern Apache were induced to settle on a farm at Abiquiú and a like experiment was tried at Fort Webster. In the summer of 1853 about 1,000 Indians were being fed on these farms and about 100 acres were under cultivation. The experiment proved a failure. When the distribution of rations was suspended, the Apache became bolder than ever.¹¹³ Lane's policy proved unpopular and he was ultimately removed.

Meanwhile E. A. Graves of Louisville, Kentucky, and H. L. Dodge were appointed Indian agents. Dodge, who was to be the agent for the Navaho, was an excellent choice as he was well acquainted with Indian life and was able to exercise considerable influence over them. For a brief period depredations lessened but did not entirely cease.¹¹⁴ On June 1, Sumner reported to the adjutant general that the Navaho were again committing depredations.¹¹⁵ Shortly afterwards Sumner commenced operations for a formidable campaign and had his plans well advanced when he was relieved from command by Brevet Brigadier General John Garland.¹¹⁶ Lane was also succeeded at this time by David Meriwether.¹¹⁷

The half dozen years following the close of the Mexican War were characterized by constant Indian warfare on the New Mexican frontier. The wild tribes proved a source of constant terror and annoyance. Separating into small and predatory bands, the doughty warriors overran the country. They devastated farms, destroyed crops, drove off herds of cattle, murdered the inhabitants or carried them off into captivity. The federal government's policy of frontier

113. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 374.

114. E. A. Graves to R. McClelland, May 29, 1853. Ms., Miscellaneous Letters, I. D., D. I.

115. Sumner to S. Cooper, June 1, 1853. Ms., L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

116. On June 1, 1853, Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles, Third Infantry, was assigned to the command of the Ninth Military Department. Two days later Sumner again headed the department. On July 1 Miles took over the command a second time and held it until July 20, when he was succeeded by Brevet Brigadier General John Garland. Thian, *opus cit.*, 50.

117. For the previous career of Meriwether, see Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 296-297; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 541.

defense had proved inadequate. Its Indian agents, treaties, military posts, and occasional punitive expeditions secured neither awe and respect for the white man's government nor peace for the inhabitants of the territory. Despite vast expenditures of money,¹¹⁸ the federal government's New Mexico defense policy to 1853 had been but partially successful. The solution of the Indian problem was to come later.

118. Between 1848 and 1853 the federal government had spent \$12,000,000 in the Ninth Military Department for defense, in addition to expenditures for civil service. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 437.

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, IV

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

CHAPTER VI

SIDE LIGHTS ON ARMY LIFE

THE Irishman is a born fighter, whether it be with a shillelah in hand on his native heath or with a carbine on the mountain trails of Arizona. But, in creating the wild Irishman, the good Lord tempered his sturdier qualities with the saving grace of humor. When the round of duties at a dreary, sweltering army post became deadly in its monotony; or when, on a campaign, men were driving themselves day after day to the limit of physical endurance, often it was a dash of humor that brought the needed relief to taut nerves. It might take the form of swapping yarns around a camp fire, or in an amusing incident on the trail, or in the staging of an amateur theatrical.

Diversion of a different kind, also, was found by many of the officers who became interested in the country itself, and in the new forms of life which came under their observation. We learn, for example, from Bourke that General Crook was an excellent shot and that he enjoyed not only hunting wild game but also securing rare specimens of humming birds. Or again Bourke writes:¹

My old friend Capt. Charles Bendire who served with me at Camp Lowell, Ariz., near Tucson in 1871 was then, as he is now, intensely interested in ornithology and its subdivisions of ovology and nidology. His collection of eggs and nests, now on deposit in the Smithsonian, cannot be surpassed. He wears a very rare ornament attached to his watch-chain, a fossilized tortoise-egg.

Bourke himself, from his first arrival in the Southwest, wanted to know and understand the peoples whom he found here. He went about it by observing and interviewing, with the result that the diary records of his army service

1. Bourke notebooks, under date of June 11, 1888.

are thickly interspersed with ethnological data such as Apache vocabularies, descriptions of customs and ceremonies and prehistoric ruins, often with illustrative sketches. Many pages are filled with the questioning of some informant as to clan relations or tribal lore.²

At the same time there is abundant evidence in Bourke's notebooks which shows that the tedium of army life was not relieved only by serious study. He could tell a good story—and he liked to hear others reminisce; and some of the anecdotes which he jotted down rival Bret Harte at his best.

July 29 (1880) . . . Tom Ewing,³ an inveterate story-teller, kept our party in a roar with his inimitable jokes and tales; we became so hilarious that the other passengers eagerly listened to the cause of our amusement. I can't venture to repeat many of his anecdotes, so much depends upon the inimitable grace and mimicry with which he delivered them; but I'll try two or three, sorry however that as here written they are scarcely the shadow of the stories as he told them.

Judge "Charlie" Meyers of Tucson was, as I have elsewhere stated, a terror to evil-doers and an upright, conscientious administrator of Justice, altho he knew scarcely any law. Being afraid that some of his victims might attempt to belabor or even to assassinate him, Judge Meyers avoided going out of his house or opening the door at night. He had a hole cut in the front door and a small shutter placed there which he could open to find out the character of people coming, as they sometimes did, to get drugs from his dispensary.

One night a terrible knocking aroused the old man from his slumbers. He went to the door, raised the little shutter, and demanded to know who was there.

"Me—Jedge." "And who are you, mine frent?" "Jedge, I want to give myself up, I've just killed a man." "Vat you kill him for?" "Wa'll, Jedge—yer see-e he ca-a'llled me a

2. Bourke himself made extensive use of this ethnological material, as will be apparent by a glance at his bibliography. See *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, vol. VIII, 13-15.

3. Heitman, *Historical Register*, giving the Civil War record of "Thomas Ewing, Jr.," states that he resigned from the army February 23, 1865. Apparently he came west to Idaho, and later Bourke knew him in Arizona. At the time of this record, Bourke was with General Crook and other officers going by train from Omaha to Cheyenne.

liar en I—" "Vare did you keel him?" "Down in George Foster's Quartz Rock Gambling Saloon" (this was a notorious deadfall.) "Vary goot, mine frent, dot's all right," said the Judge soothingly, "dot's all right—go back unt keel unudder von"—and then he turned in to bed. . . .

Ewing had a particular friend in Silver City, Idaho (in 1866)—Ike Jennings—who took it into his head that he ought to get married and selected a great big bouncing Missouri girl as the partner of his future joys and sorrows. Jennings consulted Ewing about the details of the wedding, which he desired should be a high-toned affair, with nothing wanting.

Silver City at that date was a wild mining town in the wildest part of Idaho territory; built on both sides of a steep, narrow gulch with houses offering to their inmates the advantage of being able to look down their neighbors' chimneys and see what they had for supper. From the door of Jennings' house which was situated upon the crest of the steepest part of the hill, access was had to the street 120 vertical feet below by a steep grade and by a series of steps almost as steep, both coated with ice as slippery as glass, from water carelessly thrown from the building.

The concourse of invited guests had much difficulty in climbing up this slippery path, but once inside the house were made welcome to a pretty fair collation, provided by the liberality of Tom Ewing from whom Jennings had borrowed the money to defray all expenses.

As Tom officiated as a sort of master of ceremonies, he had arrayed his friend Jennings in a suit of black, decked out with a pair of yellow kid gloves in which his huge paws looked like a couple of canvas-covered hams. The ceremony was soon over and the twain made one. Drinking succeeded, poor whiskey, bad rum, and a kind of chemical preparation styled champagne circulated freely and began to make their effects perceptible.

Ewing, afraid of his company, had gotten himself up for an emergency. Around his waist was strapped a six-shooter and along his back, under his coat, a pick-axe handle, the tip projecting slightly above his collar, to admit of being grasped at a moment's warning.

Dancing commenced to the music of two squeaky fiddles and by the fitful glare of tallow-candles stuck to the walls. Some of the boys were already beginning to get a "little bit high." As Fate would have it, Dick Tregaski's

"girl" gave him "the dead shake" and bestowed her fair hand for a dance which he had anticipated upon a Southerner named Welker—a man of fine education—since a Professor in the University of California. This was too much for Tregaski: running up to Tom Ewing, he asked excitedly,—“Tom, hev yer enny weepins, bee G-d? Thar’s my gal over thar a shassaying through the quadrille with that damm Secesh outfit, Welker. Lend me yer revolver.”

To oblige his friend Ewing lent his six-shooter, but at the same time felt it incumbent upon him to prevent a row by every means in his power. Tregaski, walking up to Welker as he was “shassaying” with the fair lady, gave him a ferocious whack over the nose. A champagne bottle popping at the same instant sounded like the report of a pistol. “Don’t shoot, for G-- sake,” yelled Tom Ewing, throwing open the door of the house. Men and women impetuously “piled out” into the open air and, striking the frozen grade, never stop sliding until they strike the street, 40 yards below, “where they lay,” says Ewing, “fifteen feet deep.”

“Yes, boys,” said Jedge Tregaski in speaking of the affair a month afterwards, “we hed a hell of a good time at Ike Jennings’ wedding.”

[April 6, 1880] . . . While travelling in a Pullman car, on a western road, Reade played an atrocious prank on a number of bald-headed old deacons who occupied adjoining berths. He waited until everybody had gotten up in the morning and then, pulling on a pair of bright red striped women’s stockings (which he had in his valise), he thrust one of his legs out from the curtains enclosing his bed. The car was soon a ferment: the ladies were shocked at such brazen-faced conduct by one of their own sex (as they supposed), while the bald-headed deacons nearly twisted their necks off in trying to get a closer look at the liberal exhibition of anatomy. Phil. waited until he was certain he must be the cynosure of all eyes and then thrusting out his bright red head and aquiline nose, applied his extended palms to the tip of the latter and gyrated his long fingers in derision at the gentlemen.

At another time, in *Prescott, Arizona*, he was invited by the officers of Fort Whipple to attend a social hop to be given at the garrison the very evening of his arrival. He sent a very elaborate reply to the committee, regretting his

4. Lieut. Philip Reade. See p. 36, *supra*.

inability to attend, not having any suitable clothes—his baggage had been detained—nothing could give him more pleasure than to attend as he was extremely fond of dancing, but under the circumstances, etc., etc.; in brief, he wrote such a note that the committee had nothing else to do but insist upon his coming in anything he had.

Phil. made his appearance in the midst of the festivities, clad in a suit of "pajamas" (a garment in one piece, much like a child's night-gown and used by the laboring classes in China, parts of the E. Indies and Mexico), red stockings, pointed Turkish slippers and a wig, terminating in a long Chinese queue. The ladies were terribly perplexed and offended, but Reade stood his ground, insisted upon it that he had let the committee know he had no suitable clothes, that they had urged him to come in the best he had and there he was; and there he staid, too, until the end of the hop.

[November 6, 1880] . . . Lieut. Watts and I had a long conversation about former service together in Arizona; of this my journal of the time gave a sufficiently accurate description. It is sufficient to say here that the country we then scouted in search of hostile Apaches is now filled with a thriving population and that at the head of *Cave Creek*, then an unknown country, is the Rowe Gold mine, a very valuable property. No conversation between Watts and myself would be complete without a reference to "Moses Henderson." "Moses" was a wild Apache boy, one of those who had surrendered and been enlisted as soldiers to hunt down the persistently hostile. He was cross-eyed, hook-nosed, had a tuft of hair hanging over his forehead, a whining voice and a cringing manner; altogether, was so like a Chatham Street Jew clothes dealer that the men in our companies, with their usual felicity in such cases, dubbed him "Moses" and as he certainly looked like Mr. Henderson, a Hebrew merchant of *Prescott, Arizona*, I thought to have a little fun when the campaign [ended] by starting the story that he was Mr. Henderson's little brother who had been recaptured from the Apaches who had carried him off when a child.

It took weeks of patient effort to prepare my pupil. The success crowning my work repaid me ten-fold for the trouble undergone.

When we reached Prescott, I had John Marion, the editor of the "Miner" insert a notice in his paper to the effect that Mr. Abraham Henderson's young brother had been recovered from the Indians and was then in Prescott. The joke deceived a great many people. "Moses" was taken to the front of Henderson's store, where he played his part beautifully. He would seize each passer-by by the coat-collar and assure him that:—"Dot gote luk like hit crowt on you—mine frent. Dem glose vash mate fur der Brince o' Vales. I got a brudder—his name is E-e-e-li and he scholtes, 'Sara-a-h luk vot noice ha-a-ir dis young mane's got.'" He really had learned his piece to perfection and dumfounded everyone who heard him. People would ask, "who are you? What's your name?" to which he would reply—"Moses Henderson," to the great disgust of "old man" Henderson, who never relished a joke in his life and certainly not one of this kind. . . .

[October 31, 1880] . . . Dr. DeWitt recalled to my mind a very amusing incident of our former acquaintance in *Prescott, Arizona*. The ladies of the little town were desirous of building a church and felt that the Court-House was not the most suitable place for holding religious services. Arizona, the northern part of it especially, was at that period very feebly served so far as ministers were concerned. The few who penetrated there were illiterate, uncouth, often unprincipled, itinerants, who after begging the biggest collection possible, decamped and were seen no more.

I remember in one case the ladies raised about \$300 for a "beat" named Groves, I think, but as soon as he received the money he started for the Los Angeles conference and never returned. The ladies were much dispirited but kept up a bold front, nevertheless, and insisted upon it that Mr. Groves was a "good man" and that any one thinking the contrary must be an atheist, a scoffer and an enemy of religion—But Brother Groves never came back all the same, so the ladies had the task of raising funds all over again.

In this they were assisted by our worthy army chaplain, Alex. Gilmore, as good an old soul as ever lived, but perfectly worthless in any ecclesiastical sense of efficiency. I never heard "old" Gilmore preach but once, but that once was enough to last during my life-time. The text was something about the trumpet of Zion.

"Bee-low ye the tr-rumpet
"Bee-low ye the tr-rumpet of Zion
"Sound it in the hi-i-igh per-laces
"Sound ye the ter-rumpet of Sal-va-a-tion"

This text the worthy parson divided into four parts—What was this ter-rumpet? Why should we ber-low the ter-rumpet? Why should we ber-low it in the hi-i-igh per-la-a-cs? What was Zion and what was Sal-va-a-tion?

After handling his four "heads" in his usual able manner, the worthy parson got down to the "application" and the amen—the old women waked up with a start and the congregation began the massacre of that lovely hymn—"Nearer my God to Thee."

When old Gilmore wasn't butchering theology on Sundays, he passed much of his time in the village school, mangling the English Grammar. The children under his charge, with the keen intuition of their age, understood the value of the old man's equation much better than their parents imagined they did; I need not add that the school was a miniature Bedlam, the worst imp in the whole being Dick Dana, a bright, bold youngster, the son of Major Dana of the Army. Poor Dick was always under the ban—and always without cause. I know this to be so, because he told me so himself: he said that "old Gilmore" was down on him, but that he would have revenge on him. Sure enough the boy had. It happened soon after my conversation with Dick that the chaplain accused him, unjustly of course, of "lamming" one of his schoolmates over the head with a "spit-gob." "Master Dick Dana will stand behind my chair for an hour'n wear a fool's cap." Such was the dread edict. There was no appeal. Every eye turned upon Dick. Every boy and girl felt sure that he would resist the order, as he had so often previously done and gallop home on his pony which was hitched to one of the trees outside.

But no! This noble boy evidently felt that it was his duty to observe the discipline of school even when it bore with unmerited severity upon himself. He walked quietly up to the Chaplain's desk and took his place behind the Dominie as he had been directed.

Gradually, the excitement subsided; the children resumed their studies and the worthy chaplain nodded in his chair, his brown wig half rubbed from his head.

This was precisely the moment for which Dick had been

waiting. A yell as fierce and loud as the war-cry of an Apache Indian filled the little school-room. The chaplain awakened from his doze to see the children giggling and howling in mad delight and Master Dick dashing out of the room with his cherished wig in his hand. Dick jumped on his pony, clapped his heels to his ribs and darted into the plaza, holding the wig in air and crying out—"I've got ole Gilmore's scalp; here it is!" The children used to say afterwards; "we don't have no more fun now since Dick Dana was expelled," as I should say he was by the School Committee.

This was the worthy chaplain who suggested to the ladies that, to raise funds for the contemplated church, they ought to arrange some *tabloos*. The idea spread like wild-fire. Everybody seemed to have *tabloos* on the brain. The ladies said it would be just too sweetly lovely;—they would do all the work, the gentlemen would have no responsibility at all except to pay the bills.

I am sorry to pollute these pages with any reference to the behavior of the tyrant man on this interesting occasion. The tyrant man, individually and collectively, expressed himself as of the opinion that the "hull thing" was a "Dam-m-m hen outfit" and further that the "hens wuz a trying to run the town." I blush to my ears when I make the admission that the term "hens" means the gentler sex, God's last, best gift to man. Some of the more irreligious went so far as to say that Prescott had done well enough so far without "no dam-m-m Gospel Shop" and could get enough trouble without "hevin' no preachers come 'roun.'"

But when "woman wills, she will, you may depend on't." The ladies were fearfully in earnest and the more miserable man scoffed, the more determined they were to make the affair a success. A regular Crusade was inaugurated; everybody was drawn into the arrangement. There was as much harmony as could be expected in a convention of ladies; and to tell the truth, they did work in perfect concord until the time came to distribute parts in the "*tabloos*" and then we men were let into some fearful secrets. "What, have Mrs. So and So take the part of the Goddess of Liberty—her ankles are too thick!" "No, Miss Blank won't do either, she's too round-shouldered and I'm sure her eyes ain't straight either. What the gentlemen can see in that forward minx, I'm sure I can't tell, but it must be something." And so it went on: heart-burning and calumny—

squabbling and rancor in the name of our Savior who bade us "Love one another." I wish to anticipate a little and say that after awhile the ladies buried the hatchet and smoked the pi--- I mean drank the cup of peace and unanimously agreed that Lieutenant Bourke's account of their disagreement was all "made up," that he ought to be ashamed of himself and what would his mother think of him if she knew he was going on in this dreadful way! &c, &c, &c.

At last the important day had come. The ladies who "had done *all* the work" looked smiling and fresh as roses, while the men who "hadn't done anything" seemed utterly fagged out. I was one of these wretches. Early in the morning a very sweet lady approached me, went into ecstasies over my appearance, said I always looked so well, expressed herself as happy to think she wasn't a young maiden any more because she didn't know what she should do with such a handsome man living in the same town—and much more to same effect. I wish I could say that I told her—"get thee behind me, Satan," but I didn't. I swallowed all this "taffy" and much more and believed it all.

A glance at the looking glass would have told me that nature had endowed me too liberally in the matter of feet, hands, nose, mouth, ears and eye-brows, but I rejected the overtures of common sense and listened to the voice of the Siren.

My business was to drive tacks, hang up curtains and pictures and under direction of one lady strain my back in moving heavy pieces of furniture which had to be moved back again to their original places whenever some other lady of the management came along. My shoulders and spine were aching from my exertions and I had already knocked one thumb nail off with a tack-hammer, but what of that? Wasn't I regarded by the ladies as one of the handsomest, brightest, bravest, noblest and most generous of men?—No, I wouldn't give up—and anyway, I said, here comes DeWitt, he'll help me with this heavy baggage—Hullo, DeWitt. But DeWitt is talking with *my* lady and his face is beaming with smiles. I play the eavesdropper. Good Lord! She's telling him word for word the very same stuff she told me. He is the handsomest, brightest, bravest, most generous of men, is he? DeWitt! Great Heavens! DeWitt isn't a homely fellow by any means, but I now see through woman's wiles. I drop my tack-hammer, descend the step-

ladder and have ever since been a bitter, uncompromising foe of church fairs, festivals and *Tabloos*. For all that, the *Tabloo* appeared to be fully as great a success as if I had remained faithful to the end. DeWitt performed my duties with as much ability as if he had not usurped the place of the only genuine, original, handsomest, best and bravest and brightest man in the vicinity.

I did not always look upon the matter in this light. For a long time I cherished rancor towards DeWitt, but Time, the healer of all wounds, has poured balm upon my outraged pride and vanity and today I willingly concede that DeWitt did nobly. His principal duty was to take care of the red light in the glare of which the Goddess of Liberty was to appear upon the stage, wrapped in the American flag and surrounded by the representatives of American industry.

It was a thrilling sight, the girls stopped chewing gum and the men stopped their talk of "Yes-sir-ree, He's struck her rich in Cerbat and Jedge Dawkins sez its jest the pootiest ledge *he* ever seed; richer'n the Tiger by a Doggoned sight and reminds him of the Comstock." DeWitt shared in the general excitement and blew so hard upon the red fire that it flared up and burnt off his eye-brows and moustache. In front of the stage the audience, delighted with everything, sat spell-bound, little dreaming of what was so soon to disturb its placidity. Occupying one of the foremost seats was a very pretty girl, Miss Alice Dickinson, who, like many other young ladies, was in that state of mental perplexity that she couldn't quite decide which of her suitors pleased her most. Two of them, more assiduous or more pleasing than the rest, gradually absorbed all her attention and looked upon each other as hated rivals. The young lady managed her cards with great dexterity, keeping her two slaves chained to the wheels of her chariot.

She accepted an invitation from the one we shall designate as Mr. A., but before the evening of the *Tabloos* came around, he was suddenly called away to look after mining interests in the western part of the Territory and had barely time to leave word that he would be back in time or break his neck. The day arrived and as Mr. A. had not yet returned, Miss Dickinson yielded to the pressing invitation of Mr. B. and under his escort, attended the performance, occupying a seat in the full glare of the foot-lights and very close to my own. She had not been especially gracious to

Mr. B. of late and thought that as Mr. A. was safely out of the way she could easily make amends for past coldness and be for this evening at least as agreeable as he could desire. But as Fate would have it, Mr. A. made the journey home with great speed, reached Prescott after dark on this very evening, hastily made his toilet and rushed to the dwelling of his adored one only to find that she had started for the Court-House in company with his rival. There was no help for it; he had to grin and bear it. He repaired himself to the Court-House; found every seat filled and had to content himself with standing room near the door. Close by his elbow, the ladies had placed a small stand with refreshments which they disposed of at Shylock prices. It has always struck me as a queer combination, this mingling of lunch and liturgy, Pumpkin pie and Presbyterianism, Doughnuts and Dogma, but ladies insist upon making it and will make it, I suppose, to the end of time. Mr. A. endeavored to soothe his lacerated feelings with a slab of pumpkin-custard and was slowly conquering grief, when, looking over the heads of those in front of him, he saw his adored cuddling up awfully close to his rival and evidently giving him some very sweet flattery to judge from the delighted countenance of the listener.

Mr. A. was merely human: he could not stand everything. It took him but a second to make up his mind. He took careful aim at his rival's head—Swish!! and the pumpkin pie sailed through the air and landed, not upon his rival's head, as he had intended, but just back of Miss Dickinson's ear. The confusion and uproar occasioned were, I need not say, very great. Mr. A. of course, escaped, altho' Mr. B. promptly jerked out his six-shooter and ran up the aisle to catch him and shoot him. Much sympathy was felt for the poor young lady and she stood in want of every bit of it, as I don't think I ever saw a lady in sadder plight than she was with all this pumpkin pulp filling up one ear and covering neck, collar and hair. She tried hard to rake it out with her fingers, but without success and had to remain through the remainder of the performance, happily only a few moments, with all the marks of the unfortunate affair upon her garments.

[March 20th, 1880] . . . The newspapers today contain telegrams announcing the completion of the Southern Pacific

R. R. to *Tucson*, Arizona. No event in the history of American railroad construction illustrates more strikingly the melting away of the first of old time apathy and ignorance which kept this grand continent in the fetters of barbarism. Tucson, founded in 1542,⁵ by the Spaniards as a "mission" for the Indians of Arizona has preserved in a marked degree to the present hour all the tokens of its mixed Castilian and Papago origin. Proud of its claim to being considered the oldest town within the limits of the United States, it had apparently an equal pride in being regarded as the dirtiest. In all its streets and alleys, offal, dirt, straw and rubbish were allowed to lie in piles undisturbed save by the scratching of inquisitive hens or the rooting of drowsy pigs. Its swarthy "caballeros" proudly bestrode their half-starved "bronco" ponies hardly big enough to support the weight of the immense saddle covering them from loin to withers. In the bright fresh air of the morning, the solemn clank of the Cathedral bells summoned to early mass groups of dusky maidens whose faces betrayed their Indian lineage, but in whose soft eyes lurked the witchery of Andalusia and Granada.

Jesús and José, Ramón and Miguel grew from happy, prattling babyhood to the full vigor of adolescence with scarce a care except such as must ever surround the games of early boyhood or later on attend the "mozo" who is becoming deft and skilful in use of lasso, spur and pistol. To play with marbles, tops and ball—to play all these languidly and as they were languidly laid by to take up with equal languor the cigarrito, and the use of "mescal"—to lazily plow the fields, or work in an automatic kind of a way at making adobes—these were the occupations of the male sex. Nothing was done energetically, unless we speak of riding the "bronco" ponies which was always at a furious gallop or the dancing with their "dulcineas" at the frequent "bailes" which continued from the setting of the sun until the dawning of the same.

With the girls, the same weary lassitude marked every action, altho' the women as a class were more energetic than the men and never lacked an exquisite ease and grace of motion which would have made glad the heart of a sculptor.

Anita, Francesquita, Guadalupe and Jesuscita quietly baked their tortillas, prepared the "chile con tomatos,"

5. A mistake of some 200 years, due to writers who had connected Tuscon with the time of Coronado.

"con huevos," y "con gallina," or boiled the strong coffee which was to wash down the noon-day meal and then, first gracefully rolling and lighting for herself a cigaritto, one would gently touch the strings of harp or guitar and sing, in a voice not altogether unmusical, strains of love and flowers, while the others busied their hands in deft lace and needle-work or wagged their jaws in gossip about their absent neighbors.

Thus passed the day with these primeval people when I first knew them in 1869-70-71; nothing disturbed the monotonous routine of daily life but an occasional "carrera" (horse race) or "pelea de gallos" (cock-fight) or perhaps Don Carlos Velasco was about to christen another olive branch and would celebrate the event with an appropriate "spread" to which all the worthy "compadres," "comadres" and "tocallos" of the village would hasten to do full justice.

The "Americanos" (may the Devil fly away with them!) had already planted their feet in the sacred dust of Tucson and were slowly but surely drawing to their own coffers every cent in the country.

Mexican social life went on all the same, the presence of the Anglo-Saxon element making about as much difference in the life current of the place as would the casting of large stones by mischievous boys into the bed of a slow-moving brook.

With the coming of the iron horse all will soon be changed; the dignified, grave and courteous bearing of the Castilian will give way to the prying, obtrusive and calculating manners of the Yankee and the Jew: soon from the signs above the doors of the "tendajones" will disappear the names of Velasco, Carrillo, Leon and Suastegui and flaring black and white will tell us that "Gottlieb and Co." deal in "Cheap Clothing" or that G. Washington Smith has just received another invoice of "Gents' Nobby Eight Dollar Ulsters." I know its heresy to say so, but I am just a trifle sorry to hear that Tucson is being so rapidly Americanized: I had much rather have it remain as it was, dirty, dusty, vermin-infested if you will, but for all, a link binding our bustling aggressive civilization to the years when men in their sober senses scoured this vast continent in search of fountains of youth and caskets of treasure or when benevolent, good-hearted people burned their fellow creatures at the stake for God's sake. . . .

[June 1st, 1878] . . . Left Omaha and Council Bluff, by the Kansas City, St. Joe and Council Bluffs R. R. for St. Louis, where a quick connection was made in the Grand Union Depot with the Ohio and Mississippi R. R. for Cincinnati. On the latter train was pleased to find my old friend Lieut. E. D. Keyes, 5th Cavalry, and mother, travelling from Texas to Washington. Keyes, a bright intellect ruined by addiction to liquor, promised at one time to be an ornament to the service, but dissipation brought about his dismissal and, to my unfeigned regret, I saw that he was still a victim to his degrading passion and steadily running downhill.

In 1872, Keyes and myself, formed part of the detachment, which, under command of Col. Coppinger, 23 Inf'y, sailed from San Francisco, in the good steamer, "Newbern," to the mouth of the Colorado River, in the gulf of California. The voyage of some 2,000 miles occupied 13 days, a period long enough to enable us to become pretty thoroughly acquainted with each other; outside of pleasant comradeship of the occasion not much can be said of the journey. The arid cliffs of Baja California, Sinaloa and Sonora, gave us a very unfavorable idea of Mexico; a school of dolphins, glistening in the sun, a long shark, or, semi-periodically, a whale, or what we land-lubbers thought must be whales or sea-serpents, helped to kill time pretty well; then at meridian, we used to "haul the log" or "take the sun" with Captain McDonough, an odd genius, (since drowned at sea). The astronomical part of the business didn't interest us very much; strictly speaking, I never thought that our worthy skipper knew how to handle a sextant; he preferred running his ship along the coast, of which every promontory and indentation was perfectly well-known to him; but, if he couldn't manage a sextant, he could make a very acceptable toddy, and every day, just as soon as the log had been read and the bearings determined, proofs of his skill in his favorite line were in eager demand by a throng of thirsty young officers. As McDonough was a perfect skinflint about his whiskey, strategy had to be brought into play whenever we felt like having more than one round of the enticing beverage; there was only one vulnerable point in the skipper's character; it was his Achilles' heel, but we found it out almost intuitively and assailed him there every time with success. He was very fond of telling us about his "viges"; his "vige" to Callao, his first "vige" out from

Liverpool, his second "vige" to Puget Sound, and so on.

To these we listened with intense gravity and interest, more or less simulated. Our patience never went without its reward. The Captain's throat was certain to become parched and we shared in the toddy, brewed for its refreshment.

Peace be to his ashes. Softly let the waves of the Gulf of Cortez sing his requiem. He was the biggest liar I ever met, and some of his stories of adventure were masterpieces of mendacity.

Colonel Coppinger, our worthy commander, was one of the neatest men in his dress I ever knew: the one apprehension that clouded upon his mind was that our large batch of recruits would not keep themselves clean. To insure absolute cleanliness among them became almost a mania with him: every fine morning, he would have large squads of them stand out on the forecastle, while water was thrown over them from the force pumps.

This seemed to tickle the soldiers amazingly: the voyage was made very pleasantly, only one man lost and he drowned through his own cursed carelessness and disobedience of orders, while we were steaming into the mouth of the muddy Colorado.

Then as we got upon the river steamboat, "Cocopah," Jack Mellon, master, and steamed up the channel to Ehrenburg, 400 and odd miles, it seemed as if our troubles had only commenced. We couldn't make more than 62 miles a day, against the swift current, and, while the sun lasted, groaned on account of the heat and at night suffered a little from the mosquitoes, but not much, for it was then in the month of November (1872).

When we would come to a "wood-landing," everybody rushed ashore. Our "roustabouts" were Cocopah Indians and Mexicans, who worked to my unpracticed eye very faithfully. This wasn't the first mate's opinion and the way that man poured out profanity and tobacco juice from his mouth was a caution. The "roustabouts" never seemed to mind him in the least, and probably fancied he was praising their good looks whenever he "damned their eyes." About halfway up from Point Isabel (the miserable collection of hovels at the mouth of the river) to Fort Yuma, Cal. (the first point inside of the American lines) we met the steamboat "Gila," commanded by Captain Mellon's friend and comrade of years, Captain Steve Thorn.

The meeting was very funny: the two men were of the same general type—red-faced, broad-shouldered, warty-knuckled, deep-chested, profane, good-hearted, honest old fresh water mariners, who could out-drink, out-smoke, out-chew, or out-wear any two men in Arizona—and that's saying a good deal. Each was very proud of his boat, and as this periodical meeting was always looked forward to with fond anticipations—the respective commanders were arrayed sumptuously in their “noggiest” apparel. Each wore black doe-skin pantaloons, and a white linen shirt which would have been very presentable, if it had not been so disfigured with so much jewelry. Neither wore a collar, but Mellon's garment was buttoned at the neck, while Thorn's lay open carelessly, exposing a red-flannel undershirt beneath. In the matter of jewelry, Thorn completely eclipsed our more unpretentious commander, but either could have equipped a Jew pedlar with the amount carried on his person. Thorn had, besides the usual studs and cuff-buttons, not far from half a dozen breastpins, all of them bounteous in material and one or two of good workmanship. He had a good-sized gold anchor, held by a small cable to a gold cross, and, if I remember correctly, he also wore a gold anvil, almost big enough for the uses of a blacksmith. But he didn't have any hat, at least not at that moment, while Captain Mellon, in a brand new, black silk “plug,” presented by admiring friends in San Francisco, fairly obscured the glories of Solomon.

As the steamboats bumped their prows together and the gangs of “roustabouts” were, under the jealous supervision of two screaming and swearing mates, actively fastening cables and running gangway planks between them, two streams of simultaneous objurgation burst from the lips of our rival skippers.

“Easy thar with your blank, blank, blank, old canal-boat, you horny-handed, land lubber.”

“Awast you bilious-eyed, blabbering mouthed mud-turtle—don't talk to your boss, your master, you dash, dash, dash, dash son of a sea-cook.” I didn't hear all the conversation; about the time I descended to the lower deck, the air was blue and hot and sulphurous with profanity, but our gallant Captain was already silencing his less accomplished adversary. At Fort Yuma our party broke up; myself, under orders to rejoin General Crook, at Prescott and the

others, under Colonel Coppinger, to proceed, by easy marches, to their proper stations.

Fort Yuma fully merited all the bad reputation given it in the camp-talk of the army, as the hottest and most dreary post in our country. During the time of our stay, there wasn't much to be seen, except now and then a squad of "Cocopah," Yuma or "Mojave" Indians lazily floating in the water which appeared to all intents and purposes to be their native element.

Give one of those Indians enough blue mud with which to plaster his hair as a shield against the sun and a cottonwood log to support him partially in the water, and he will be happy as any king and float on the turbid bosom of the Colorado, until he meets an upcoming steamer, whereon he knows he is always welcome to a ride back to his little patch of squashes and melons, with which he will surfeit himself until the humor takes him for another float in the river, or until some brother Indian challenges him to a game at cards—the ruling passion of all these tribes. I am wandering away from my text, seemingly, but not in reality, as Keyes has been in my mind all this time. He was a most jovial companion, one fitted for better things than the life of a drunkard.

These reminiscences, awakened by meeting with him, are inserted because I fear that the note-books of that date, 1872, have been mislaid, destroyed or stolen.

(To be continued)

LETTERS TO AND FROM ABRAHAM G. MAYERS,
1854-1857

Edited by ALBAN W. HOOPES

THE Pueblo Indians have always been of peculiar interest. With a culture higher, in many respects, than any other Indians within the limits of the United States; Christianized by the Franciscans during the sixteenth century; enjoying many of the rights of citizenship under the successive government of Spain, Mexico, and the United States; more than any other Indians they connect the present with a significant historical past.

The first United States governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico—James S. Calhoun—recognized their importance, and recommended the appointment of agents¹ and sub-agents² for them. His suggestions were not acted upon, nor was it until July 31, 1854, that an appropriation of ten thousand dollars was made for presents to the Pueblo Indians, and an additional agent accorded to the New Mexico superintendency.³

In pursuance of this act, Abraham G. Mayers received the appointment. When he arrived at Santa Fé, Governor David Meriwether assigned him to the Pueblo agency.⁴

The various letters and reports made by Mr. Mayers have remained for eighty years in the files of the Office of Indian Affairs. Although some of them are missing, those that have survived will, it is hoped, throw some light upon the condition of the Pueblo tribes soon after the American occupation of New Mexico.

I acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the consistent en-

1. Calhoun to commissioner of Indian affairs William Medill, October 4, 1849. Abel, A. H. (ed.), *The official correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 40.

2. Calhoun to commissioner of Indian affairs Orlando Brown, February 3, 1850. Abel, *op. cit.*, 139.

3. *United States Statutes at Large*, X, 330, 332.

4. Meriwether to G. W. Manypenny, August 11, 1855. Office of Indian Affairs, General Files, *New Mexico*, N 509/1855.

couragement of the members of the history seminar at the University of Pennsylvania during the preparation of this paper.

A. W. H.

*Philadelphia, Pa.,
May 23, 1934.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS

George W. Manypenny¹ to A. G. Mayers, Washington, D. C.,
November 2, 1854²

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
November 2d. 1854

Mayers Esq: Abraham G.
Fort Smith
Arkansas—

Sir:

You have been appointed by the President Agent for the Indians in New Mexico and I herewith transmit your Commission.

Should you accept the appointment you will execute the enclosed Bond in the penal sum of Ten thousand dollars with two or more sureties whose sufficiency must be certified by a United States Judge or District Attorney. You will also take the Oath of Office and transmit the Bond here if executed before you leave Arkansas otherwise You will file the same with his Excell'y David Merriwether Governor & Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe to whom you will report for instructions in the discharge of your Official duties & through whom all your Correspondence with this Office will be conducted. Your Salary will be at the rate of \$1500 per annum to commence from the day on which you report yourself to the Governor at Santa Fe as ready for duty.

Very Respectfully

Your Ob't Servant

GEO. W. MANYPENNY

Commissioner.

1. George W. Manypenny was commissioner of Indian affairs during the Pierce administration.

2. Office of Indian Affairs, *Letter Book no. 50*, 181-182.

Mayers to Manypenny, Fort Smith, Arkansas,
December 8, 1854³.

Fort Smith Arkansas
Decer 8th 1854

Sir

Enclosed you will please find my Bond given in accordance to your Instructions Dated November 2d 1854.

By this you will see that I have accepted the appointment of Indian Agent for New Mexico.

I Shall leve (*sic*) for that country as soon as Possible.

Very Respectfully

Your Ob't st

ABRAHAM G. MAYERS.

Hon. George W. Manypenny
Commissioner of
Indian Affairs
Washington city
D. C.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C.,
January 12, 1855⁴

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
January 12th 1855

Mayers Esq; Abraham G.
Agent for Indians in New Mexico.
Fort Smith—Arkansas—
Sir:

Application was made to this Office on the 3d instant by Hon. R. W. Johnson⁵ to allow You Your travelling ex-

3. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M. 1319/1854.

4. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 50*, 378.

5. R. W. Johnson to Manypenny, U. S. Senate, January 3, 1855. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, J 801/1855. This letter is of considerable interest due to the light thrown upon the character of A. G. Mayers.

"I apply to you to allow to Abraham G. Mayers his expenses to New Mexico to his agency. His whole pay is but \$1,500 dolls & it will cost him at least \$300 to get there. He is poor and has a wife and three or five children. He is a noble fellow & a man of a high order of intelligence & I have no idea you have in that Territory an agent of equal capacity to do good service or that will so fully prove it. I also ask that you will allow him at least a half years salary in advance. I talked this over with you this morning & trust it may be done. I request an early answer as it admits of little delay.

Resp'y yours

R. W. JOHNSON."

The above letter was answered by Manypenny on January 11, 1855. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 50*, 373-374.

penses from Fort Smith to Your Agency in New Mexico, and also that You will be allowed at least half a years salary in advance.

Mr. Johnson was informed on the 11th instant that your actual necessary expenses of travel from Fort Smith to Santa Fe would be allowed You: but that provisions of law intervene to prevent any advance to Indian Agents on account of their pay, and that the above mentioned allowance for expenses is all that can now be properly advanced to you.

I have therefore requested that a remittance of three hundred dollars be made to you, at Fort Smith, from the appropriation for "General incidental expenses of the Indian Service in New Mexico" with which You will be charged, and for which you will account; this amount being designed, as far as it may be needed, to defray your expenses of travel. For all items of importance, and in all cases where it is practicable you will procure vouchers for all disbursements made.

When vouchers cannot be obtained, a memorandum should be kept, indicating the character of your expenditure which memorandum, certified by you to be correct should accompany Your accounts.

I would also remind You of the desire of the Department that You proceed to New Mexico, and enter upon the discharge of the duties of your appointment as early as practicable.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
GEO. W. MANYPENNY
Commissioner

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., January 13, 1855^a
Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
January 13th 1855

Mayers Esq: Abraham G.
Agent for Indians in New Mexico.
Fort Smith—Arkansas—
Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ultimo, enclosing your bond & Oath of Office as Agent for the Indians in New Mexico.

6. O. I. A., *Letter Book no 50*, 383.

The Bond is approved by this Office & will be filed in the proper Department.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Servant

GEO. W. MANYPENNY

Commissioner

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., January 19, 1855⁷

Department of the Interior

Office Indian Affairs

January 19th 1855

Mayers Esq: Abraham G.

Fort Smith,

Arkansas—

Sir: The Senate having confirmed Your appointment as Agent for the Indians in the Territory of New Mexico, I herewith transmit a new Commission in lieu of the one recently forwarded.

You will execute the enclosed bond in the penal sum of \$10,000—with two or more sureties whose sufficiency must be certified by a U. S. Judge or District Attorney; which, if executed before leaving Arkansas, You will forward to this Office otherwise file the same with his Excellency David Merriwether Governor & Ex-Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe to whom You will report for instructions in the discharge of your Official duties and through whom all your Correspondence with this Office will be conducted as heretofore indicated.

Your Salary will be the same as stated in a former letter.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt Servant

GEO. W. MANYPENNY

Commissioner.

Myers to Manypenny, Fort Smith, Arkansas, March 13, 1855⁸

Fort Smith March 13th 1855

Sir

I have the Honor to say that my Bond has been Given in the sum of ten Thousand Dollars (\$10,000) and has been approved by Mr. Wilson United States District Attorney for this District.

As I pass on my way to New Mexico, I will take the

7. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 50*, 403.

8. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 1393/1855.

oath of Office Before Judge Ringo U. S. Judge—& and forward it Immediately (*sic*) to your Department.

I shall be in the city of st. Louis by the 15th of april. If the Department wish to communicate with me in Relation to any thing connected with my Duty &c, I will take pleasure in attending to the same.

I shall in future unless otherwise instructed send my Communications through the superintendent.

Very Respectfully

Your Obedent (*sic*) servant

ABRAHAM G. MAYERS

Indian agent

New Mexico

Hon. G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)

Commissioner of

Indian affairs

Washington City

D. C.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., April 7, 1855⁹

Department of the Interior

Office Indian Affairs

April 7th 1855

Mayers Esq: Abraham G.

U. S. Ag't for Indians in

New Mexico. St. Louis Mo.

Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th ultimo relative to the execution of your bond &c. &c.

The Department has nothing to communicate to you further than that Your bond has not been received, and that you will receive instructions for the discharge of your Official duties from the Gov. & Ex-Officio Sup't Indn Affairs New Mexico: & it is important that You should report to the Governor at Santa Fe as soon as practicable.

Very Respectfully

Your Ob't Servant

GEO. W. MANYPENNY

Commissioner

Mayers to Manypenny, New Orleans, April 9, 1855¹⁰

New orleans April 9th 1855

Sir

Enclosed you will please find my bond as Indian agent for New Mexico.

9. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 51*, 227.

10. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 1413/1855.

It will be seen that the bond has been approved by the District attorney of the western District of arkansas.

I have this day taken the oath Before Judge McCaleb of the U. S. Court for Louisiana.

I will start for New Mexico via St Louis Mo. and fort Levenworth on the 15th day of this month. I will be in st Louis on the 20th and Remain untill (*sic*) the 25th or long Enough for the Department to communicate with me.

If the Department has any Busness (*sic*) they wish to Entrust to me I shall be pleased to take charge of it, and by addressing me at st. Louis it will come to hand safe.

In view of the Present Hostile attitude of the indians on the Plains I think it will be impossible for me to cross the Plains without an Escort which no doubt will be had as I understand troops are ordered to New Mexico.

Should the Department Desire to send any thing to the territory through me I will take Especial care to discharge the duty imposed upon me with Promptitude.

I Have the Honor
to be your Obedient servant
ABRAHAM G. MAYERS,
Indian agent for
New Mexico

Hon.

G. H. Maneypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs Washington
city D. C.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., April 19, 1855 ¹¹
Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
April 19th 1855

Mayers Esq. Abraham G.
Agent for Indians in New Mexico
St. Louis, Mo.
Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst, enclosilng your official bond, as Agent for the Indians in the Territory of New Mexico, which is approved and will be recorded and filed.

In regard to that portion of your letter which refers to an escort to accompany you across the Plains, I have to

11. O. I. A., Letter Book no. 51, 283-284.

state that it has not been usual to furnish any, nor does this Office, from information in its possession deem that one will be required. Should you however be made aware that any troops or trains are about leaving for New Mexico, you might avail yourself of such opportunity; but in such cases it has not been usual to make allowance for any other than the actual personal expenses of the Agent.

Very Respectfull

Your Obt Servant

GEO. W. MANYPENNY

Commissioner

Mayers to Manypenny, St. Louis, April 29, 1855 ¹²

Saint Louis April 29th 1855

Sir

I sent you my bond from New Orleans as indian agent for New Mexico.

I would thank the department to inform me at this Point by Telegraph if it has been accepted.

I will pay the Expense at this city. My Reason for wishing to know is that it may not be convenient to give the bond in Santee Fee (*sic*) & the further Reason I desire an answer by the telegraph is that I am anxious to get to Santee fee (*sic*) at as Early a day as Possible.

I Have the Honor

To be your Obedient servant

ABRAHAM G. MAYERS

Indian agent

New Mexico

Hon

G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)

Commissioner of

indian affairs

Washington City D. C.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., May 5, 1855 ¹³

Office Indian Affairs

May 5th 1855

Mayers, Abraham G.

St Louis, Missouri

(Telegraph) Sir: You were informed by letter the 19th ultimo that your bond was approved.

GEO. W. MANYPENNY.

Commissioner.

12. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 1455/1855.

13. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 51*, 371.

Mayers to Mannypenny, St. Louis, May 5, 1855¹⁴
(Telegraph)

Letter received all right I leave immediately.¹⁵

A. G. MAYERS

Mayers to David Meriwether, Santa Fe, September 25,
1855¹⁶

Santee Fee (*sic*) Sept. 25th 1855

Sir

I have the Honor to Inform you that scince (*sic*) my agency has been opened Eight Govenors (*sic*) of the Different Pueblos have visited me, some of which have Received the agricultural Impliments. (*sic*)

I find some difficulty I (in?) Persuading them that these Presents are given them for their good, and without cost.

They inform me that the Mexicans say the Government (*sic*) after while will take their lands. I assure them that this is not the case, and beleive (*sic*) that those who have taken the Presents are well satisfied. (*sic*)

I find that much difficulty Exists In Relation to their Land titles, but few of them have all their Papers in full, they say to me that they are in the archives of the Territory, those who have handed in theirs have been filed with the surveyor General to be put on file with the assurance given to Each Pueblo that as soon as their Lands are Surveyed and marked out they will be able to know their Boundereys (*sic*) and the Government (*sic*) will Protect them in their Homes.

This appears to satisfy them, from all those I have seen in the short time my Agency has been opened I can safely say that the Pueblos are Peacefull (*sic*) and steadfast friends of the Government. (*sic*.) I would Recommend that the Ballance (*sic*) of the funds belonging to the Pueblos

14. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 1459/1855.

15. Mayers arrived at Santa Fé on August 4, and was assigned to the Pueblo agency. See David Meriwether to G. W. Manypenny, Santa Fé, August 11, 1855. *Ibid*, N. 509/1855.

"Sir

I have the honor to inform you that agent A. G. Mayers arrived here and reported to me for Duty on the 4th inst, and having exhibited (*sic*) a letter from you acknowledging the receipt of his official bond and oath of office, he was assigned to the agency for the Pueblo Indians, and his agency established at this place."

(Signed) D. MERIWETHER.

16. *Ibid*, N. 12/1856. This report is enclosed in a letter from W. W. H. Davis—the acting-governor of New Mexico—to Geo. W. Manypenny, December 24, 1855.

be applied (*sic*) for the Perchase (*sic*) of such Farming impliments (*sic*) as the makeing (*sic*) appropriations contemplates.

I (It?) would be well to have them Perchased (*sic*) in the states and sent out as Early in the spring as Possible as they will not use any of the articles untill (*sic*) then.

It is with much Pleasure that I inform you that at a meeting of seven Different Pueblos at my office they through one of their Principal men Expressed a wish to have Schools Established among them. The sentiment is a noble one and I Promised to Recommend their wishes to the Government, (*sic*) which I hope will not be overlooked.

Education will do more to Civilize the savage than anything Else and I hope that Congress through your Recommendation will make the appropriation necessary to make a trial among these People.

Many of the Pueblos are poor and often ask me for small Presents which I am unable to give them. Under these circumstances I would Recommend that a small amount in annuity (*sic*) or cloathing (*sic*) be made to be distributed among them, this would have a good Effect in still binding them closer Friends.

These sejestions (*sic*) are made in consequence of other Indians Receiving such Presents—this subject was brought to my notice by Different Pueblos. A few Blankets & cheap cloathing (*sic*) with some Domestic (implements?) would gladden the Hearts of many and do much good.

I have the Honor to (be) your Obedent (*sic*) servant

A. G. MAYERS

Indian agent for the Pueblos

New Mexico

Hon David Meriwether
Govenor (*sic*) &
Superintendent of Indian
Affairs New Mexico

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., December 6,
1855¹⁷

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
December 6th 1855

Mayers Esq: A. G.
Agent &c. Care of Acting Gov. Davis,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.
Sir:

Having been advised by Acting Governor W. W. H. Davis, under date of October 26th,¹⁸ of your determination to draw upon the Treasury Department, for the amount you propose to invest in purchases for the Pueblo Indians, instead of obtaining the funds through the Superintendent, I have to inform you that your draft will not be honored in this Office, unless the same has the approval of the Superintendent endorsed thereon.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
GEORGE W. MANYPENNY
Commissioner

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, January 28, 1856¹⁹
Sante (*sic*) Fe Jan'y 28th 1856

Sir

I am in Receipt of your letter dated Decr. 6th 1855, In Relation to my Drawing upon your department for funds to Perchase (*sic*) agricultural Implements for the Pueblo Indians &c.

I have also an Extract of the letter of the supt. Relative to the same subject,²⁰ in which I find that the superintendent

17. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 53*, 113.

18. W. W. H. Davis to G. W. Manypenny, Santa Fé, October 26, 1855. See O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 554/1855.

19. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 78/1856.

20. The extract referred to is in a letter from W. W. H. Davis to G. W. Manypenny, October 26, 1855. *Ibid*, N 554/1855.

"I was also informed a few days ago, by Agent Mayers, that, in the purchases he proposes making for the Pueblo Indians, for the coming season, he would draw upon the Treasury department, on account of appropriation for these Indians, instead of obtaining his funds through the Superintendent as is customary. I was not aware, before, that an Agent had the right to draw upon a fund placed at the disposal of the superintendent; at all events the practice, I believe, will be a bad one. I am disposed to be as liberal in advances to purchase agricultural implements for the Pueblos as the circumstances will warrant; but he has notified me that he will not ask for any funds here, but draw upon Washington."

seems to Express fears that I will do so without His consent, or that I will violate customs heretofore Established &c.

Now Sir a little Explanation on my part will place me properly before your department & I trust that it (is) not Improper for me to do so. I do not wish for the sake of the Efficiency of the Indian department of New Mexico, to be looked upon in any other light than an officer of this Department Carrying out the orders of my superiors, (this I can not be denyed (*sic*)). How far I have succeeded I leve (*sic*) for others to Judge. I have always consulted the supt and laid before him all facts that came to my Knowledge Relative to the Pueblo Indians, nor have I done any thing to my Knowledge that has not Meet (*sic*) with his disapprobation.

It is not strange then that I wish an Explanation of the above correspondence. I wrote to your Department some time ago that I did not approve of the Purchase of these goods through merchants of Sante (*sic*) fe, that the Prices they Charged for the same was Exorbitant, besides being paid twenty per cent commission for the perchase. (*sic*)

I told His Excellency Govr Meriwether before He left here that I thought the Policy was wrong—that I supposed the intention of Congress was when the appropriation was made that the Indians & not the Speculator was to have the benifit (*sic*) of the appropriation, this led to the Remark that if any more agricultural Implement was to be per-chased (*sic*) for these Indians that I was the Proper Person to make the perchases, (*sic*) and that I would Inform your department of the facts, which I have done. If I have over-stepped (*sic*) my Duty, it was not from a desire to promote my own selfishness, but to perform what I deemed my Duty. If I have failed to Render satisfaction as agent to the Indians over which I Preside, I hope that at least I may be heard in my own defence.

When I arrived at Sante (*sic*) Fe I Immedeatly (*sic*) called upon the superintendent for Instructions. I Reed a letter directing me to act in connexion with the surveyor Genl of the teritory. I called upon that officer who informed me that it would be my duty to obtain the title deeds & claim to lands of the Pueblos, for which purpose I would have to visit the Different Pueblos at their towns or Homes. When I Informed his Excellency of the fact, he Promptly Refused me Permission to do so—of Course his own In-struction(s) were mine, as I did not take the Responsibil-

ity of Disobeying orders. I afterwards had my attention called to the 116 article of the Regulations Relative to visits of Indians to agencys (*sic*) &c, which Regulation I have strictly Enforced.

Now sir Can it be Expected that I should be able to accomplish much under the Restrictions which have surrounded me.

Yet I hope that my official Conduct has been such as to Protect me from the insinuations that I am not worthy of Confidence. If in my zeal I have done any thing wrong it was not Intentional. I have on all occasions consulted the superintendent in the discharge of my official Duty, nor shall I do any thing that does not meet with his approbation.

I have drawn no drafts on the Treasury for any other sums than my salary. (*sic*) I have perchased (*sic*) no goods for the Pueblos without the sanction of the superintendent, nor can I see for the life of me any Reason of fears of the superintendent that I will usurp any powers of his office. I desire to do nothing in my agency that will not meet the approbation of my superior officers, to that end alone I shall direct my course. If I fail to give satisfaction I will Know that my efforts have been to Injure no one.

That I may have erred is possible, but it was an error of the Heart. I wished the goods for these Indians perchased (*sic*) as cheap as Possible, for that Reason called attention of the superintendent to the fact of Paying such high Prices for the articles, besides allowing the Extraordinary Commission of twenty per cent on the purchases. This appears to be the cause of complaint, for my part I can see no objections to my sejestions (*sic*) to perchase (*sic*) the agricultural Implements at the cheapest Rates, for this Reason I Recommended that the articles should be perchased (*sic*) by your Department and sent to this agency for Distrabution, (*sic*) by adopting this course the Indians will get the full benifit (*sic*) of the appropriation, and no official Rights will be violated. In conclusion I have to say that I Regret that any misunderstanding should arise between me and the Immediate supt. of Indian affairs. I shall do no act by which I may place that officer in an unpleasant (*sic*) situation, I will do all I can to carry out his views, and that of the Government. (*sic*) If I fail in giving satisfaction or commit any act of terpetude, (*sic*) why I am willing that the President shall withdraw my appointment. I am concious (*sic*) that I have done my Duty faithfully &

Honestly. Weather (*sic*) it meets with the approbation of others I cannot say, but this much I will say, that my friends who have so Kindly Recommended me for this office, shall have no cause to Regret that they have been deceived.

Whatever may be done I shall not Complain. My course shall be straitforward (*sic*) Honest & Correct, with such a course I hope to be sustained. If not then I am willing to surrender.

I have the Honor to
Remain your obedient st

A. G. MAYERS
Indian Agent for
New Mexico

To Hon. G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs, Washington City

D. C.

P. S. I sent this letter to the superintendent for his perusal—he tells me that there is no objections in it. M.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., April 12, 1856 ²¹

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
April 12th 1856

Mayers Esq: A. G.
Ind. Agent,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.
Sir:

Your letter of 28th January last, in response (*sic*) to one from this Office of Dec 6th 1855, relative to funds for the purchas (*sic*) of Agricultural implements for the Pueblo Indains &c. has been received.

Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant,
GEO. W. MANYPENNY,
Commissioner

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, March 1, 1856 ²²

Estimate for Surveying twenty indian pueblos in New Mexico Their limits being one mexican league North South East and West from their church making four leagues and consequently the exterior boundaries of each is eight mexican leagues making twelve leagues of lines to be Surveyed to

21. O. I. A., Letter Book no. 54, 79.

22. O. I. A., General Files, New Mexico, M 98/1856.

each pueblo or thirty one miles and twenty chains to each pueblo or Six hundred and twenty five miles for the twenty pueblos at twelve dollars per mile will amount to Seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Santa fe March 1st 1856

Sir: At my Request Mr. Garretson gave me the Estimate above of the cost of surveying the twenty Pueblos in this Territory. (*sic*) It is absolutly (*sic*) necessary that these lands should be surveyed, and I hope Congress may make an appropriation separate for the survey of these Pueblos, they have other grants that will be Required to be surveyed, I think the addition of three thousand Dollars will be sufficient to cover all Expenche. I should not trouble you with this matter as the surveyor Genl. is now at Washington, but the Importance of marking the Bounderys (*sic*) of the Pueblo Indians is Evident, they have difficulties of a very serious carracter (*sic*) among themselves & the population of the Country are continually Harrassing (*sic*) them. By having their lands surveyed they will understand that the Goverment (*sic*) Intend to sustain them, as matters now are they are persuaded by designing men that Goverment (*sic*) Intend to take their Lands, this causes mistrust and doubt in their minds. I hope sir that an appropriation to survey will be made and the surveyor Genl. will no doubt approve of my Recommendation. He is fully competent to make an Estimate for the Purpose, he is well acquainted with Mr. Garretson who is himself an Engineer. By having the lands of the Pueblos surveyed and their Bounderys (*sic*) marked it will Prevent others from Encroaching upon them, it would be the means of quietting (*sic*) their fears that Goverment (*sic*) will dispoile (*sic*) them.

I called on acting Govr. Davis & told him that I should make these statements, he told me that he approved of my Doing so, which is Respectfully submitted for your consideration.

I have the Honor to
be your obedient st

A. G. MAYERS
Indian agent for
New Mexico

Hon. G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs, Washington City
D. C.

W. W. H. Davis to Mayers, Santa Fe, March 31, 1856²³

Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Santa fe March 31st 1856

A. G. Mayers Esquire
Pueblo Indian agent
Santa fe New Mexico
Sir

In view of the difficulties existing between the Pueblos of Acama (*sic*) & Laguna in which I am Informed, the People of the former have seized upon the lands of the latter, and prevent them from planting. I have determined to send you to these Pueblos in order to try and reconcile their misunderstanding. You will therefore proceed with all possible dispatch to Laguna, and assemble the head men of the two Pueblos, in council. You will inform the People of Acama, (*sic*) that they must not trespass upon the planting grounds of the Lagunians, or in any manner interfere with their fields or crops, that the People of both Pueblos *must* remain peaceable and not trespass upon the other, untill (*sic*) the Goverment (*sic*) can settle their difficulties. If after this, Either party interferes with the other, it may become necessary to restrain the wrong-doers by force.

I have also received information that the mexicans near san filipia (*sic*) have taken possession of some lands belonging to that Pueblo, and Refuse to give it up to the Indians. On your way down you will stop at san Filipa (*sic*) and cause the mexican trespassers to be notified to meet you at the Pueblo on your return. You are directed to inform them, that they must give up any lands of the Indians they have taken Possession of, and that if they do not do so peaceable they will be compeled (*sic*) to do it by force.

You will be Expected to make the trip as quickly as possible, and discharge the duties assigned you, and your needfull (*sic*) and necessary expences (*sic*) will be charged in your next quarters accounts. Upon your return you will make me an official report of your operations.

I Remain very Respectfully

Your obedient servant

W. W. H. DAVIS acting Govr.

& superintendent of Ind. aff.

23. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 163½/1856. Enclosed by A. G. Mayers in a letter to Manypenny, June 28, 1856.

Mayers to Davis, Santa Fe, April 12, 1856 ²⁴Santa Fe April 12th 1856

Sir

I Returned on yesterday from a visit to the Pueblos of San Philipia (*sic*) Laguna & Acama (*sic*) On my way to the two Latter Pueblos I left word with the former that I should be at their Pueblo on the 9th but did not get back untill (*sic*) the 10th. The difficulty with the Mexicans and the Pueblo of san Philipia (*sic*) was settled by the Mexicans moveing (*sic*) off of the Lands, and abandoning the crops they had Planted. The Indians wanted to Know to who the crops belonged, I desided (*sic*) that as the mexicans by moveing (*sic*) acknowledged that they had no right to the Land, they could claim no right to the Crops. I authorized the Indians to take Possession of it which they did.

When I arrived at Laguna Pueblo I found that the Govenor (*sic*) and some of the Principle (*sic*) men had left for Santa Fe. I Immediately sent a Runner after them & in two Days they came back. This was the case with the Gov- enor (*sic*) & Head men of Acama, (*sic*) they also sent Run- ners after their men & they Returned the same day with the Laguna Indians. The next day they held a council at Laguna, and appointed a committe (*sic*) of five from each Pueblo, to make a settlement of their affairs.

We all Proceeded to the line in Dispute, Some Twelve or fifteen miles from Laguna, after consulting together for some time they could not agree, and said that I should deside (*sic*) the case, which I did, the Desission (*sic*) is herewith annexed, after which both partys (*sic*) agreed to abide by it. I have to say however that the Acama (*sic*) Pueblo was dissatisfyed, (*sic*) but agreed to the arrangement (*sic*) with the understanding that it was not a final settlement. I told both partys (*sic*) that I would use my best Efforts to have

24. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 103/1856. Enclosed by Davis in a letter to Manypenny, April 12, 1856.

The reaction of the Office of Indian Affairs to the contents of this letter may be found in the acknowledgement of G. W. Manypenny to W. W. H. Davis, June 16, 1856. O. I. A., *Letter Book* no. 54, 368.

"Sir:

In acknowledging your letter of the 12th April last, enclosing report of Agent Mayers, touching his recent visit to the Pueblos of Laguna, and Acoma, to adjust a difficulty between the inhabitants relative to the boundary of their lands. I have to express my gratification at the adjustment of those difficulties in the manner reported."

(signed) GEORGE W. MANYPENNY.

the whole matter settled by having their Lands Surveyed, and their Bounderies (*sic*) marked.

They then seperated (*sic*) and Each Pueblo promised to abide the Desision, (*sic*) I have no doubt that they will comply with this arrangment. (*sic*) I would Earnestly Recommend that the Lands be surveyed, this will settle all conflicting claims and Restore Harmony (*sic*) between these two Pueblos.

I also visited the Pueblo of san Domingo & settled a dispute between the Govenor (*sic*) and a Pueblo Indian, Relative to his land, which he had lost on a bet with another Indian of his Pueblo.

I desided (*sic*) that betting was unlawfull (*sic*) and no Indian has a right to claim the Land of another on any such Pretence, the Party finally settled & Peace & quiet has been Restored in the Pueblo.

I find these People Industrious and Planting Largely this season. Upon Enquiry at all of the Pueblos that I have visited, . . . that evil disposed Persons tell the Pueblo Indians not to place any confidence in the Goverment, (*sic*) and persuade them not to give up their Documents & Titles to their Land, nor Receive the Presents from Goverment, (*sic*) as after a while they will take their Lands or make them Pay for the Presents which they Receive.

I found this the case at Every Pueblo that I visited. I told the Indians that this was all false, and by Kind words, have Induced them to beleive (*sic*) what I say to them is true. If it was not for the Interfereance (*sic*) of outsiders these people would soon understand the difference between our Goverment (*sic*) & that of the Mexican Goverment, (*sic*) while glareing (*sic*) Impositions have been practised by the Latter, they feel a Reluctance in comeing (*sic*) forward and placeing (*sic*) themselves under our Laws for Protection.

However I have great confidence in Pueblo Indians, while I acknowledge it will Require Prudence to Keep them from the temptations of bad Councils.

I Embrace the Present oppertunity (*sic*) of again calling the attention of the Department to the Propriety of Per-chasing (*sic*) agricultural Implements for these Indians,

and will furnish you with a list of such articles as I deem of use to them.

I Remain very Respectfully

Your obedient (*sic*) st

A. G. MAYERS

Indian agent for the Pueblos

N. M.

His Excellency acting Govr.

W. W. H. Davis & Exofficio superent
of Indian affairs Santa fe N. M.

(Enclosure)

Laguna Pueblo

April 7th 1856

Whereas, the committee of five from each Pueblo of Acoma and Laguna not being able to agree as to the rights of each Pueblo to certain lands, I have desided (*sic*) as follows, viz:

1st. That the line heretofore established between said pueblos is reestablished as the proper boundary between said pueblos, that as heretofore the Acomas shall have the west and the Lagunians the east side of said line, that neither party shall cultivate any land not on their own side without the consent of the other, that said line shall only remain in force until their lands be surveyed and their boundaries marked by the government: Provided however, that the people of the pueblo of Acoma may gather the crop which has been planted previous to the above date, on the eastern side of the line.

2^d. That the water used for irigation (*sic*) shall be equally devided (*sic*) between the two pueblos, the pueblo of Acoma to use the water for seven days, when the pueblo of Laguna may use the same for seven days, and this shall be the manner of useing (*sic*) said water throughout the year.

3^d. That upon a refusal of either pueblo to comply with this arrangement until their lands can be surveyed, the government will compell (*sic*) the delinquents to comply with the above desission. (*sic*)

A. G. MAYERS,

Indian agent for the

Pueblos N. M.

Mayers to W. W. H. Davis, Santa Fe, April 20, 1865²⁵
 Sante (*sic*) Fe April 20th 1856

Sir

I take the liberty of Recommending to you the per-chase (*sic*) of the following articles for the use and benefit of the Pueblo Indians viz

Ploughs of a different Kind Perchased (*sic*) heretofore, as they do not understand how to put them together. A light Plough something similar to the common shovel Plough used in the states would answer a better purpose, the soil is Generally a light sandy soil and would be much better cultivated by the Kind of Plough I Recommend for the Pueblos.

Shovels with long handles, by which they could throw the dirt out of the ditches with more ease.

Hoes & spades of the same Kind heretofore Furnished.

Some Mattocks would be very usefull. (*sic*)

Drawing Knifs (*sic*) and foot adas, (*sic*) with axes, chisels, Hand saws, & augers are much needed at Each Pueblo.

One or two light Harrows for Each Pueblo, (20 in number) the only way they now cultivate & level their Fields is by a Round Log, which is Dragged (*sic*) over the fields after Ploughing (or scratching) the Earth with their Rude Plough now in use, by this process the ground becomes hard, while the grain does not look well.

I noticed on my trip that some Land cultivated by an american, along side of a Mexican, looked so much better Cultivated than theirs, they wonder at the difference in their crops, when they are told the cause, they appear astonished.

The Pueblo Indians are all Farmers. I think it would be good Policy to have say two good Farmers Employed to show them how to cultivate their Fields and farm their Lands, say one for the southern Pueblos, and one for the northern Portion.

By adopting this course the Indians would soon adopt our plan of Cultivation, the Result (of?) which would be this, they would Raise double the amount of grain, & Forage for the use of the army would be proportionally cheaper, (*sic*) while the Expenditure of Goverment (*sic*)

25. Enclosed by Davis in a letter to Manypenny, April 22, 1856. See O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 89/1856.

would be much less in consequence of the greater Supply, . . . while the Expences (*sic*) of the indian department would not be increased to a great Extent.

My object in makeing (*sic*) these suggestions will be seen when I Explain to you the Propriety of sending you this Report at this time. If any agricultural Implements are to be sent to these People this year, my Report for the next Quarter would not Reach the department in time to Furnish the articles before another year. If delayed untill (*sic*) next season, it will be two years before they could have the use of them.

I am satisfied that much good would Result, by adopting this course, these Indians would Require but Little aid from the Government (*sic*) while their condition would Greatly Improve.

I have the Honor to
Remain your obedient (*sic*) St
A. G. MAYERS agent for the
Pueblos N. M.

His Excellency acting Gov.
W. W. H. Davis & Exofficio
supt. of I. affairs Santa fe
N. M.

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, April 30, 1856²⁶
Santa Fe April 30th 1856

Sir

At the Request of Govr. Meriwether I herewith forward to you a statement of the Quantity of the different articles which should be perchased (*sic*) for the use of the Pueblo Indians, as there is twenty Pueblos within the limits of my agency.

100 Ploughs say 80 shovel or Bull tongue & 20 Coarse
Ploughs
25 Harrows—some of the Largest Pueblos to Receive 2
Harrows
60 Dozen long Handle shovels
60 Do short " "
60 Do " " Spades
6 Do axes with 6 Dozen Handles
10 Do Hatchets " Handles
10 Do Drawing Knives (*sic*)—assorted

26. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 139/1856.

an assortment of augers from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ Inch
 " " " chisels Do " " " "

40 hand saws this will give two to Each Pueblo

20 foot adases " " " one " " "

40 picks or Mattocks 2 for Each Pueblo

The above comprises a list of such articles as I Recommend be "sent out" for the use of the Pueblo Indians, the ballance (*sic*) of the appropriation would be Judiciously Expended in Perchasing (*sic*) Hoes—they should not weigh less than $3\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 lbs Each. I am at a loss to Know what amount of this fund Remains unexpended, I have Received from his Excellency in agricultural Implements 1005\$ worth and Six Hundred & Thirty five Dollars 64/100 cts in cash, and most of the articles have been distributed & the cash I have used for the Perchase (*sic*) of such Implements as meet with the approval of acting Gov. Davis, there is still on hand about nine Dollars.

It is very desirable that these articles be sent out this season to Enable the agent to Distribute them next spring,²⁷

27. In this connection the subjoined letters are of interest:

(1) Manypenny to Alfred Cumming, Washington, D. C., June 13, 1856. O. I. A., Letter Book no. 54, 354-355.

"There remains in the Treasury, a balance exceeding \$8,000 of an appropriation for making presents of Agricultural implements &c to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, a part of which, say \$5000, can be probably used to the best advantage for the service by purchasing and forwarding to Santa Fe soon, implements for distribution early next spring.

"I have lately received (*sic*) a schedule of such articles as are needed, and now enclose a copy thereof, as furnished by a letter of Agent A. G. Mayers of the 30th April last. I also send you a copy of Acting Gov. Davis' letter of the 22nd of the same month, and its enclosure, for your information.

"I have concluded to ensure the transportation of the articles at the best time in the season, & to avail of the knowledge to be obtained at St. Louis respecting the Santa Fe trade, and the requirements of the soil and climate of New Mexico, to direct you to proceed to purchase the agricultural and other implements asked for by the Agent, by public advertisement of proposals or otherwise, or such per centage of them as \$5000 will buy and transport, and also to make the necessary contract for the transportation.

"Funds to pay for purchases will be sent you on your estimates, and you will also send an estimate of the amount that will be needed to pay for the transportation.

"The expenses of the transportation will be paid either at Santa Fe or at St. Louis, as best suits the contractors for that service. If paid at St. Louis, it will be on the receipt (of) a certificate of the Governor of New Mexico, or the Agent for the Pueblo Indians, that the articles have been received by him in good order, & according to contract.

"For the performance of the transportation contract, you will require reasonable security, the contractors being liable as common carriers, for the safety of the goods whilst in their hands.

"The details of your proceedings herein will be left to your discretion, and you

but I am ferefull (*sic*) this letter will Reach you to (*sic*) late to have them forwarded, and it will be late next season before they can be Recd. I was in hopes that His Excellency had perchased (*sic*) the articles Intended for the Pueblo Indians, but he informed me that he did not & Requested me to furnish you with a list to Enable you to Judge what to Perchase. (*sic*)

I therefore Respectfully ask your consideration of the subject as I am confident that a liberal Distribution of agricultural Implements will be gladly Received by a majority of the Pueblo Indians.

I Have the Honor to be
your obedient Humble st.

A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo Indians
of New Mexico.

Hon G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs Washington City
D. C.

Mayers to David Meriwether, Santa Fé, May 27, 1856.²⁸
Santa Fe May 27th 1856

Sir

I enclose you a copy of a Letter from the Surveyor General dated the 27th of May 1856, with a list of the Pueblos that have not filed Title Deeds &c.²⁹

By reference to the list it will be seen that twelve Pueblos have not filed their papers. I have never seen any of the Pueblos of the following names viz: Taos, Zuni & Moquim. (*sic*) The principle (*sic*) men of all the Pueblos

28. O. I., A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 140/1856.

29. The surveyor general's letter appears to be missing.

will carry out these instructions with such degree of expedition as in your judgment is for the interest of the United States."

(2) Manypenny to David Meriwether, Washington, D. C., June 14, 1856. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 54*, 356-357.

"For reply in great part to the letter of Agent Mayers, of the 30th April, written at your request, and also to that of the actng Governor, of the 22nd April, on the same subject, I enclose you a copy of a letter written yesterday to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis giving instructions about the purchase and transportation of Agricultural implements for the Pueblo Indians.

"The balance of the appropriation for the Pueblos, will be subject to disbursement this year, or at some future period, in such manner, and on such occasion as you deem best."

except the three above mentioned have during the last nine months visited this agency.

It will be seen that but eight out of the whole number have filed their Documents. I have on all occasions requested the Indians to bring in the Documents but they have failed to do so, I have no doubt that evil disposed persons have made them believe that the Government intends to take their lands from them, they feel a reluctance in giving up the Title Deeds.

If it is your wish that I shall visit the Pueblos for the purpose of collecting their Documents, I will be ready at any moment to do so. I could visit the Pueblos of the North West without an escort it would be impossible for me to visit the Zuni & Moquim (*sic*) without an escort. The following is a list of the Pueblos that live in the North West, viz: the Picuries, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Namba, (*sic*) Posiaque, (*sic*) Tesuque & Taos. By calling on the Pueblos I have no doubt that I can obtain their Documents.

I have the Honor to remain

Your obedient Servant

A. G. MAYERS

agent for the Pueblo Indians

N. M.

His Excellency D. Meriwether
Exofficio Sup't of Indian affairs
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Meriwether to Mayers, Santa Fe, June 2, 1856.³⁰

Office of Sup't of Indian Affairs.

Santa Fe June 2d 1856.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of the 27th & 30th of May last, enclosing copies of two letters from the Surveyor General of this Territory relative to the Pueblo Indians and their grants for lands; and to respond as follows.

You will write to Agent C. Carson at Taos requesting him to procure and transmit to you the grants of the Pueblos of Taos, Pecuris (*sic*); and you are at liberty to visit, for the purpose of procuring their grants, the Pueblos of San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pujoaque, (*sic*) Tesuque and Santa Clara; I expect to pass in the vicinity of the Pueblos of Sandia, Isleta, Zuni, and Moqui during the present summer

30. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 140/1856.

and will endeavor to procure their grants myself; and as the grant for the Pueblo of Laguna is on file in the Clerks office of Socorro County, you will see judge Watts on his return and devise some plan for procuring either the original or a certified copy thereof. And as there seems to be a colision (*sic*) or conflict in the grants to Accoma (*sic*) and Laguna, and as there is a suit now pending between those two Pueblos to settle this difficulty you will request the Surveyor General not to act upon either of these two claims until both grants are filed with him.

When visiting any of the Pueblos you are at liberty to assist the Surveyor General in procuring the statistical information which he desires, and you will request agent Carson to do so when he visits the Pueblos of Taos and Pecuris. (*sic*)

(Signed) Very Respectfully

Your Ob'd't Servant

D. MERIWETHER Govr. and

Supt of I. A. in New Mexico

Maj A. G. Mayers

Indian Agent

Present

Mayers to Meriwether, Santa Fe, June 13, 1856.³¹

Santa Fe New Mexico

June 13, 1856.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter dated June 12th 1856.³² In reply to which I have to say, as you did not request me to make a Report on my return, I did not suppose it important to do so until I made up my quarterly Report.

I now comply with your request, by stating that at San Ildefonso I learned that the papers or Documents of that Pueblo were lost or mislaid, that the Indians promised me to visit Santa Fe in a few days and testify to the facts, which I suppose they will do.

I could not reach Santa Clara Pueblo on account of high water in the Rio Del Norte, two of the principal men of this Pueblo crossed the river, from them I received a promise that they would bring the papers or documents to Santa Fe, as soon as they could ford the river with their animals.

31. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 140/1856.

32. Missing.

At Pojoaqua (*sic*) I found that the Indians had no Documents, they Informed me that in the year 1837 the Mexican Prefects or *alcaldas* (*sic*) demanded from them their papers or documents since which time none of the people of this Pueblo know any thing about their titles, for a more general report of the condition of this Pueblo, I ask your Indulgence until the end of the present Quarter.

At Namba, (*sic*) I found this Pueblo in precisely the same condition of (as?) Pojoaqua, (*sic*) so far as relates to their papers or Documents, a full report will be made at the end of the present Quarter.

At Tesuque I found the Govr. had gone to Santa Fe, I however met him on the road and he informed me that he would bring in the papers or documents of his Pueblo in a few days.

The above statement relative to my visit to the Pueblos, Is a reply to that portion of your letter in which you say I urge the propriety of my visiting certain Indian Pueblos with a view of procuring the title papers under which they claim the lands occupied by them respectfully (*sic*) &c.

If you will refer to your first instructions to me, you will see that you there Require me to act with the surveyor general when the titles to Pueblo Lands are Involved.

I have further to state that in your letter dated June 2d I was permitted to obtain the Statistical Information which the Surveyor General desired &c.

You also in a conversation with me on the same subject requested me to be very cautious in making enquiries of the Pueblo Indians, not to arouse any suspicions in their minds by asking too many questions, &c.

In view of these precautions I did not obtain as full and complete Returns of the different Pueblos as might have been obtained, had I enquired more closely into their affairs, the most complete returns of the abstract consist in the whole number of souls found in the six Pueblos that I visited,³³ I am confident this is nearly or quite correct.

Some of these People are very Ignorant and can hardly understand the questions asked, but one thing I can say without the fear of successful contradiction, that they are an honest hard working and industrious people, and deserve the fostering care and protection of our Government.

33. The abstract mentioned is not filed with N 140/1856, nor has a careful examination brought it to light.

So far as you do not understand the abstract which I furnished, I have to say that it was a hasty sketch drawn up by Mr. Whiting translator of the Surveyor Generals Office.

I made a copy of this abstract and laid it before you. I did not suppose it was so unintelligible (*sic*) as you seem to find it, the dots you speak of mean nothing as the explanation of the addition of figures show.

I hope this will be a satisfactory response to your letter of yesterday.

I remain very Respectfully your
Obedient Servant

A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo Indians
of New Mexico.

D. Meriwether Govr.
& Exofficio Supt. of
Indian affairs Santa
Fe New Mexico.

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, June 28, 1856.³⁴

Santa fe New Mexico June 28th 1856

Sir

I addressed a letter to the superintendent of Indian affairs in the following words.

Sir

from a conversation with you on yesterday I presume you object to a portion of the contingent Expences (*sic*) of my office. I will thank you to furnish me with your objections; to Enable me to Explain them. I am desirous of doing this to prevent a misapprehension of my official acts, please answer this before the mail closes and Oblige.

verry (*sic*) Respectfully
your obedient st.

A. B. MAYERS
Agent for the Pueblo
Indians of N. M.

His Excellency D Meriwether
Exofficio Superintendent
of Indian affairs
Santa Fe N. M.

34. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 163½/1856

In Reply to this letter I Recived (*sic*) the vouchers No. 6, and No. 14, with the superintendents objections, Endorsed on the back of each voucher.

In reply to the first I have to say that I did not charge one cent more than my actual Expences, (*sic*) which under the Instructions of acting Govr. W. W. H. Davis who said they would be paid. (se (*sic*) his letter a copy of which you will find Enclosed)³⁵

I have to state that Mr. Ward was furnished with Public animals, while I had to hire them for the Trip. Mr. Ward Informed me that at Laguna his friend with who he stoped (*sic*) with did not charge him or the Goverment (*sic*) any thing for his stay at the Pueblo, by reference to Mr. Gormans bill, it will be seen that I Remained at his house for three days, and his charge was Eighteen dollars for board and horse feed. I was delayed longer at the Pueblo than I should have been, If the Indians had not left for santa Fe, I had to send runners after them and wait untill (*sic*) their return, when I transacted the busness (*sic*) with the two Pueblos, and returned to my agency, made a report to acting Govr. Davis,³⁶ and beleive (*sic*) performed the dutys (*sic*) of my mission to the satisfaction of that Officer, at all events I find no further complaints of the People of these two Pueblos, the Acamas (*sic*) & Lagunans.

Scince (*sic*) that time, In Relation to the charge for room rent, I have to say, that the office, or part of office that I occupy is not a suitable place for an agency, with its present occupancy. I beleive (*sic*) that I am like other agents, Entitled to have a suitable house for that purpose, I made this known long ago, I will now state my objections to my present arrangments. (*sic*)

In the first (place?) the govenor (*sic*) knows that I have only a desk and chair in the office, which is occupied by his clerk, that People of everry (*sic*) kind are continually passing in and out of the office, that I never carried the key of the office, or Exercised any Controle (*sic*) over It, that I told acting Govr Davis long ago that it was not a suitable place for my agency unless I had the room to myself, and that I thought and still think, my agency should be disconnected with any other office, that I did not suppose the Government (*sic*) Expected me to camp out, as I was willing to keep my office in the room of the clerk of the public build-

35. Davis to Mayers, March 31, 1856. *Ante*, 20-21.

36. Mayers to Davis, April 12, 1856. *Ante*, 21-24.

ings for the sake of Economy, as I could not sleep in this room I charged ten dollars for the room at the Hotel. If I had taken a House, it would have cost the Government (*sic*) more than double that amount. I pointed out the Extra Expence (*sic*) to acting Govr. Davis. Govr. Davis told me if I was not satisfied with my present office I could rent one at not more than ten or twelve dollars per month, when I informed him that If I done so it would cost the Government (*sic*) at least two Hundred dollars more a year than under my present arrangments. (*sic*)

In view of this, and with a desire to be as Economical as possible I have continued to charge ten dollars for the room I occupy. I have always supposed that an Indian agent was Entitled to an agency—I do not consider a corner in an office an agency.

Now so far as Extravagance is concerned. I think my office Expenditure(s) are as small as any agent in New Mexico, beleiving (*sic*) that I am Entitled to charge this Item I have done so.

His Excellency might with much more propriety have disallowed my charge for the hire of animals on my trip to San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, Pojoaque, Namba, (*sic*) & Teseque (*sic*) Pueblos, as there was at the time I made the trip five public animals belonging to the Indian department in the lot doing nothing. I was Refused the use of any of them, and had to hire other animals, which cost six dollars—se (*sic*) voucher, No.-----.

Sir I find much difficulty in giving satisfaction to the superintendent. I find that nothing I do meets with the approval of that officer, he has yet to coincide with me in any important suggestions which I have made. In relation to my duty as agent, If I have not fullfilled (*sic*) my mission, I can say that I Honestly Endeavoured(*sic*) to do so, I could say much more, but will take some other time to say it. I have to regrete (*sic*) that I felt bound to a single word, & hope you will Pardon me for intruding on you this Letter.

I have the Honor to

Remain your obedient (*sic*) st.

A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo
Indians of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Menypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of
Indian affairs
Washington City D. C.

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, July 21, 1856³⁷
 Santa Fe New Mexico

July 21st 1856

Sir

I have the Honor of acknowledging your Communication to the Hon. W. K. Sebastian dated May 27th 1856, granting me leve (*sic*) of absence for ninety Days, for which I make my acknowledgments. My health has (been?) bad for some three weeks, and I do not consider it Prudent to take my leve (*sic*) at Present, but will duly notify the superintendent of my intention to go, and hope this course will meet with your approbation.

I have the Honor
 to Remain your Obedient (*sic*)
 st. A. G. MAYERS
 agent for the Pueblo
 Indians of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Menypenny (*sic*)
 Commissioner of Indian
 affairs Washington City D. C.

Meriwether to Mayers, Santa Fé, July 30, 1856.³⁸
 Office of Supt. of Indian Affairs
 Santa Fe July 30th 1856

Sir

Congress having made a special appropriation for purchasing Agricultural impliments (*sic*) for the Pueblo Indians, it is both illegal and contrary to my verbal instructions to you, to expend the funds placed in your hands for the purpose of paying the contingent expenses of your office, in the purch (ase) of such impliments. (*sic*) You had better therefore indeavour (*sic*) to get the merchant of whom you recently purchased such articles, to take them back and refund you the purchase money; and in future, you will in no event expend any portion of the funds placed in your hands to pay the contingent expenses of your office, for any other purpose whatever.

And as you have recommended that the Hon Com of Indian Affairs purchase in the States, and forward to this Territory, the Agricultural impliments (*sic*) intended for the Pueblo Indians, and as he has informed me that orders have been given to the Supt of Indian Affairs in St Louis to

37. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 187/1856.

38. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, enclosure in M 195/1856.

make the purchases, You will make no further expenditure for any simelar (*sic*) purpose, or out of this special appropriation untill (*sic*) further instructions from this office.

Very respectfully

Your obt svnt

D. MERIWETHER Govr

and supt of I A in N M

Majr A. G. Mayers
Indian Agent
Present

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fe, August 30, 1856.³⁹

Santa Fe New Mexico august 30th 1856

Sir

As the superintendent of Indian affairs has stated that he intended to send my corrispondence (*sic*) and that of agent C. Carson to the Hon commissioner of Indian affairs, and as he no doubt will put his own construction upon it, allow me to say that I have no objections to your being fully advised of any dereliction of duty on my part In every particular. I take the liberty of saying that I am not aware of any Discourtesy towards that officer. I have endeavoured (*sic*) to discharge the duties of Pueblo agent and nothing more. I came here for no other purpose, and I expected that as the agent of these Indians I would be permitted to Exercise the functions of my agency, but have I been permitted to do so. I say not, his Excellency has apportioned out a part of my duties to other agents, and appointed his Son O. R. Meriwether a sub agent with Instructions to perform a part of them. I have just grounds for complaint, unless his Excellency considers me incompetent, such a course is not calculated to Enspire (*sic*) that confidence which an agent ought to have over the Indians. I confess I felt mortified that my usefullness (*sic*) is in a manner Distroyed (*sic*) by such a course, and informed the superintendent that I felt able and willing to discharge the duty of Pueblo agent without the assistance of other agents, or sub agents. If this course is proper I might as well not occupy the position I do. Indeed the better way would be to close the agency altogether, this would save the goverment (*sic*) all the Expençe, (*sic*) and I would be saved the Humiliating position in which his Excellency has been pleased to place me.

39. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 195/1856.

I shall not trouble the Hon commissioner with a defence of my official conduct. I shall start for the states in October or November. I shall then take the liberty of sending such a statement of facts from the Record to show that I have done all that could be done to aid the superintendent in the discharge of his duties, and I think if any discourtesies have been practiced it was the superintendent, and not myself who had practised discourtesies. One word more and I will close, his Excellency has intimated in the letter Enclosed ⁴⁰ that I have used the funds in my hands for other purposes than that which they were intended they should be applied. (*sic*) *I have to say that I have not used a single Dollar of Public money Except to perchase (*sic*) agricultural Implements or to pay the Expences (*sic*) of my office.* I am ready at any moment to account for every dollar of money in my hands, my official bond should protect me from imputation on that account. I never at any one time have had one tenth of the amount of my bond at any one time in my hands. I ask for a rigid investigation into my official conduct, I have no fears of the result. I apologise (*sic*) for his letter, I could not say less, I shall say much more at some future period.

I have the Honor to remain
your obedient st. A. G. MAYERS,
Agent for the Pueblo Indians
of New Mexico

Hon. G. W. Menypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs Washington City D. C.

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fé, September 10, 1856.⁴¹
Santa fe Sept 10, 1856

Sir

Enclosed you will please find a corrispondence (*sic*) between myself and the superintendent of Indian affairs of New Mexico.

I have just grounds of complaint at the manner I have been treated, and this corrispondence (*sic*) will show your Honor that my usefullness (*sic*) has been distroyed, (*sic*) by the manner of deviding (*sic*) out the duties of my agency to others. I am honest when I say to you that unless the agent over the Pueblo Indians is permitted to do his duty,

40. See Meriwether to Mayers, July 30, above.

41. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 211/1856, No. 1.

It would be far better to close this agency. I am not such a hankerer after office that I cannot give up the Position. I am unwilling to occupy a position when I cannot be usefull (*sic*) to my Country, and I am shure (*sic*) that the Expence (*sic*) of Keeping up an agency for the Pueblo Indians is not necessary If the agent is not allowed to perform the duties of his office. If I had been permitted, I could have had the agricultural Implements for the Pueblos here long ago, and distributed them among these People, but such has been the restrictions under which I have laboured, that I am unable to make a full report of the condition of the Pueblo Indians, as yet no presents have arrived this summer, nor am I aware that any are on the road, yet more than two years has elapsed scince (*sic*) congress has made the appropriation for the Perchase. (*sic*) now so far as it has suited the officers who have controle (*sic*) in new Mexico to war upon me, I do not care a cent. I have tryed (*sic*) to do justice to the Indians without regard to outside *Partys*. (*sic*) If I have prevented the appropriation of the Pueblo Indians from passing through the hands of the speculators, I am glad of it, it was my duty to see that the Indians were not swindled. I ask no favours let my official conduct receive the most rigid investigation. I defy any man to say that I have not acted Honestly. I am ready at any moment to settle my account and account for everry (*sic*) dollars that has come into my hands. I shall leve (*sic*) for the states either this mail or the next and will thank you to write to New orleans if you have any Communication to make.

I have the Honor to be
your Obedient st.

A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo
Indians of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Mennypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs Washington City D. C.

(Copy) (first letter)⁴²

Meriwether to Mayers, Santa Fé, June 2, 1856.⁴³

* * *

42. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 211/1856, No. 2.

43. The original text of this letter is found in O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, N 140/1856, and is given in full, *ante*.

Santa fe Sept 10th 1856.

Sir

you will see by the above letter that the superintendent of Indian affairs has devided (*sic*) out the duties of my agency between himself & agent C. Carson. below you will please find an abstract of his instructions to his son O. R. Meriwether who he has appointed sub agent to visit a part of the Indians over which I Preside.

office of the superintendent of Indian
affairs santa Fe July 21st 1856

(2d letter Instructions)

as you will pass in the vicinity of the Pueblos of Sandia and Isleta, you will Request the Govrs. of these Pueblos to send me the grants of their lands, to be filed in the surveyor Genl. office. be particular to explain to those Indians that my object is not to deprive them of their lands, but to perfect their titles. you will Receive \$3.50 per Day for your services, and your necessary traveling Expences (*sic*) will be paid also, and you are Expected to Keep an Exact account of every (*sic*) Expenditure, and to return at as early a day as may be consistant (*sic*) with a proper discharge of your duties.

Respectfully yours &c.

D. MERIWETHER Gov
and supt. of Indian affairs
in N. M.

Mr. O. R. Meriwether

Present

Sir, allow me to call your attention to the law regulating the duties of Indian agents, and respectfully ask you if his Excellency has not done me great injustice in deviding (*sic*) out my official duties to Himself & agent C. Carson and appointing his son sub agent to visit a Portion of my tribe of Indians. Certainly If three or four different Persons are to act as the Pueblo agent, my usefullness (*sic*) must be destroyed, (*sic*) and with all due defference (*sic*) to the manner in which his Excellency has permitted my official duties to be devided (*sic*) out among others, I have yet to learn where he gets his authority from to appoint his son to visit any of the Pueblo Indians.

while writing this letter I have had the following letter laid before me. his Excellency is Evidently in an ill humor, but I shall treat his Communication with all the respect due

to it. while I am willing that the Higher tribunal to which he refers shall judge us both, I am not affraid (*sic*) to have my official conduct laid before the world. I have endeavoured (*sic*) to discharge the duties of Indian agent Properly, and court investigation into all my official acts, and If the least suspesion (*sic*) attaches to me and I cannot explain it, I am willing to be dismissed without ceremony. below you have his Excellencys Letter.

Office of supt. of Indian affairs
Santa fe Sept 4th 1856.

Sir (Copy of 3d Letter)

In answer to your Communication of yesterday allow me to inform you that you are mistaken in supposing that I have devided (*sic*) out the duties of your agency to other agents & to sub agent O. R. Meriwether, and to suggest the Propriety of enquiring into the truth of such matters before you enter your Protest.

In one Instance I instructed you to request agent C. Carson to attend to some busness (*sic*) for you with the Pueblos of Taos & Pecuris, (*sic*) to save you from traveling over 150 miles, and the goverment (*sic*) the Expence (*sic*) of this journey. at the time of giving you this instruction no objection whatever was made, nor did I ever hear of any objection on your Part, untill (*sic*) after agent Carson had declined performing the service, requested by you, which was about two months after my instructions were given.

O. R. Meriwether never has held the appointment of sub agent, but in July last I had occasion to send him to Laguna to attend to some busness (*sic*) for agent Dodge when the latter was sick, and as he had to pass by the Pueblos of Sandia and Isleta, I sent a message by him to the Govrs. of these Pueblos, requesting them to bring or send their grants to be filed in the Surveyor Genl. office. this was done when you were recovering from a spell of sickness, and after I have requested you to make the Journey if you were able to do so, and you had declined. this is the only service he has performed in connexion (*sic*) with the Pueblo Indians scince (*sic*) your arrival in the Territory.

I have deemed it proper to make these Explanations that my acts may not be misunderstood or misrepresented, and with the hope of quieting these unfounded Jelousies

(sic) on your part, but must beg leave (sic) to decline any further correspondence (sic) with you as to the manner of discharging the duties of my office, as there is a higher power to which we are both amenable, (sic) and I hope to be pardoned for failing to notice such ill founded complaints in future.

signed very Respectfully your
obedt st D. MERIWETHER
Govr & supt. of In. affs N. M.

A. G. Mayers
Indian agent
Present.

Sir this letter " shows that the supt. desires to excuse himself and trys to explain that he has not appointed others to perform my official duties, and says he sent a message to the puebls by his son as he was passing by or in their nighbourhood. (sic) now look at his letter and then read his instructions to his son, and you will see that instead of sending a message he was instructed to get the grants, and bring them or have them sent to him. now sir, does this not show plainly that my official duties have been devided (sic) out among other agents and special or sub agent O. R. Meriwether. the above letter admits all that I have ever claimed. *(that is to discharge the duties of my office without the assistance of other agents, sub agents, or special agents.)*

His Excellency finds it convenient to create offices for his son, while he pays him liberally for his Services, and furnishes him with Public animals to ride, while he denies me an officer of the goverment (sic) the use of Public animals. this his Excellency says is done to save Expences. (sic) now Sir the trip his son made cost the Goverment (sic) *forty Dollars* while the services performed amounted to *nothing*; yet when his son can be employed His Excellency finds it quite convenient (sic) to pay his Expences (sic) and furnish a Public animal to ride.

The Superintendent appears to be indignant that I should write him letters in Relation to the manner he discharges the duties of his office. let me assure you Sir, that I never objected to the superintendents manner of performing his duty, Except when he disregards my rights, and I shall whenever that officer violates my official rights, take

the liberty of speaking of his injustice, Either officially or otherwise.

I have the Honor to
Remain your obedient (*sic*) st.

A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo Indians
of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Menypenny (*sic*)
Commissioner of Indian
affairs Washington City D. C.

Santa fe New Mexico Sept 8th 1856⁴⁵

Sir

Allow me to call your attention to the law Providing for the organization of the department of Indian affairs. the 5th section and 7th section of the law defines the duties of agents, and sub agents, and as you have thought Proper to devide (*sic*) out the duties of my agency to other agents, and sub agent O. R. Meriwether, *I enter my Protest against such a course*, beleiving (*sic*) myself competent to discharge the duties of Pueblo agent without the assistance of other agents or sub agents.

I have called your attention to the above Law, in order that my usefullness (*sic*) may not be distroyed (*sic*) with the Pueblo Indians. all I ask is that if I am the agent for the Pueblo Indians, that I be permitted to discharge the duties of agent. that it is not Proper to devide (*sic*) out the duties of my agency among others, must be manifest, while it has a tendency to lessen my influence over these People.

I hope sir hereafter you will not appoint other agents or sub agents to visit any of the Pueblo Indians, while I am at all times ready and willing to discharge the duties of my office without the assistance of outside irresponsible Persons.

very Respectfully your
Obedent (*sic*) st. A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo Indians
of N. M.

His Excellency
D. Meriwether Exofficio
superintendent of In. Afs.
Santa fe N. M.

45. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 211/1856, No. 4.

Santa fe N. M. Sept. 10th 1856 "

Sir

In reply to your letter dated sept. 9th I have to say that I did not expect a reply to my letter dated september 8th although you have deemed it proper to answer it. allow me to call your attention to that part of your Letter in which you say O. R. Meriwether never has held the appointment of sub agent.

Allow me to call your attention to the Instructions given to O. R. Meriwether when he was sent to Laguna on some business. (*sic*) In those instructions you direct him to call upon the Govrs. of Sandia, and Isleta, and obtain their grants, the following is the Exact instructions viz—

As you will pass in the vicinity of the Pueblos of sandia and Isleta, you will request the govrs. of those Pueblos to send me (you) the grants of their land, to be filed in the surveyor Genl. office. be particular to Explain to these Indians, that my object is not to deprive them of their lands, but to perfect their Titles &c. &c.

Now sir what is this but the appointment of a sub agent over me, to send your son to perform a portion of my duty. I deny your power to do this, and ask you to show me your power to devide (*sic*) the duties of my agency out among others. Sir I should not complain of this course, If I thought it was best to have three or four different Persons who Shall perform the duty of Pueblo agent, but neither your Excellency nor acting Govr. Davis ever permitted me to perform the functions of my office, but on the contrary I have been represented to the Hon. Commissioner of Indian affairs that I wanted to violate rules heretofore Established, &c. and many other things that has had a tendency to distort my motives, in the discharge of the duties of Pueblo agent. all I ask is that a fair investigation be had in relation to my official conduct, and that hereafter If there is any duties to perform within my agency, that I be permitted to perform it.

In regard to my corrisponding (*sic*) with you as to the manner of discharging the duties of my (your) office &c. &c. let me say that I do not object to the manner of your performing the duties of your office, but I do object to your deviding (*sic*) the duties of my office out to other agents. while I acknowledge myself in duty bound to obey (*sic*) your instructions, I also claim the right to take accep-tions (*sic*) to any illegal acts of the superintendent.

In conclusion, as you say there is a higher tribunal or power, to which we are both amenable, & you say you hope to be pardoned for failing to notice such illfounded complaints in future, let me say that my complaints are not Illfounded, but are founded on the *truth*, and will stand the closest scrutiny, and as the object I had in view has been accomplished, I leve (*sic*) the matter in the hands of that tribunal to which you refer, and have no fears but that I will be fully sustained in my position. as you have stated you intended to send my corrispondence (*sic*) and that of agent Carson to the Hon. Commissioner of Indian affairs, I have the Honor to inform your Excellency that I shall send copies of this correspondence (*sic*) to that officer.

verry (*sic*) Respectfully your

Obedient st

A. G. MAYERS

agent for the Pueblo

Indians of N. M.

His Excellency D. Meriwether
Exofficio superintendent
of Indian affairs Santa fe
N. M.

Mayers to Manypenny, Santa Fé, November 1, 1856."

Santa Fe N. M. Novr. 1st 1856

Sir

By virtue of a leve (*sic*) of absence granted to me by you, I leve (*sic*) to day with the mail for the States.

With the approbation of the superintendent of Indian affairs, I have retained Mr. John Ward as Interpreter and leve (*sic*) him in charge of my agency.

Very Respectfully

Your obt. St.

A. G. MAYERS

agent for the Pueblo

Indians of N. M.

Hon

G. W. Manypenny
Commissioner of
Indian affairs
Washington City D. C.

Approved

D. Meriwether Govr
and supt. of I A in N M

Mayers to Manypenny, New Orleans, December 10, 1856.⁴⁸
 New Orleans La Decr 10th 1856

Sir

You will see by this Letter that I have arrived at New orlms. (*sic*) I have availed myself of your leve (*sic*) of absence for Ninety days forty of which are past at this date, to return within the time allowed me would require me to start back almost immediatly, (*sic*) under these circumstances I will thank you to Extend my leve (*sic*) of absence for Ninety days longer.

and in the mean while I could attend to some busness (*sic*) belonging to my agency as I am now in the states would it not be good Policy for me to perchase (*sic*) the agricultural Implements for the Pueblo Indians. If Permitted to do this, I could select such articles as I have recommended for them, and I am satisfied they can be perchased (*sic*) at an advatage (*sic*) over the goods turned over to me in *santa Fe*.

there are many suggestions that I could make in behalf of the Pueblo Indians that should receive attention, while I am at a loss to know why the appropriation for the Pueblo Indians has been withheld from them. it is now nearly three years scince (*sic*) congress made this appropriation yet there has not been over sixteen hundred & forty Dolls & seventy five cents Expended out of the ten thousand dolls appropriated, for the Pueblo Indians.

when I left *santa fe* the superintendent of Indian affairs stated that he was not aware of any Implements being Perchased (*sic*) for the Pueblo Indians, and as so long a time has Elapsed scince (*sic*) the appropriation was made It seems to me it is not at all improper to bring the subject to your notice, that steps may be taken to distribute this appropriation among the Pueblo Indians. I can see no just cause for further delay, and hope you will Pardon me for thus frankly Expressing my opinion on the subject, and again calling your attention to the subject.

I am ready and anxious to perform any duty pertaining to my agency, and considering the perchase (*sic*) of agricultural implements of much importance to the Pueblo Indians, I hope that another season may not pass without their getting their Presents, and as I am now here and willing to Perform any service pertaining to my Indians I hope to be permitted to discharge the duty of my office. If the

goods have been purchased, (*sic*) all right. I do not wish to usurp the Power of the supt. I simply wish to forward the interest of the Indians of my agency.

I send this through Hon. R. W. Johnson and shall be ready at any minute to give attention to any order that you may think Proper to give.

I Remain very
Respectfully your

obt. st. A. G. MAYERS
agent for the Pueblo
Indians of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Manypenny
Commissioner of Ind.
aff. Washington City D. C.

P.S. when I left santa fe Govr. Meriwether was very sick. no Indian hostilities in new mexico. on my way in a few days before I reached Eagle spring, Texas, a Party of alabama Emagrants (*sic*) were attacked by Muscalare (*sic*) apache Indians, four of them were wounded they lost five out of nine animals and they suppose they Killed four of the Indians. we did not see any Indians during the trip, but heard many rumors (*sic*) of depredations committed on the road, on trains, and small Partys. (*sic*) the alabamians (*sic*) had seven men in all. I saw the wounded, none of which were dangerous, although suffering greatly for medical aid. the Party are from Marion County alabama, the Capt name is J. C. Read.

very Respectfully A. G. MAYERS
agent

Hon. G. W. Manypenny
Comm. of In. aff. Washington City D. C.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., December 23,
1856.⁴⁹

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
December 23rd 1856

Mayers, Esq. A. G.
New Orleans,
La:

Sir:

I have considered the matters presented in your letter of the 10th instant, which has been handed to me by Hon. R. W. Johnson.

49. O. I. A., *Letter Book No. 55*, 464-465.

Under the special circumstances of the case, your leave of absence is hereby renewed so as to extend one hundred and twenty days from the time of leaving Santa Fe; but this period is as long as can be deemed proper in any case; and should you not report for duty at Santa Fe at the expiration of that time, I should deem it improper to allow your pay for the time thereafter elapsing, until you resume your duties.

The matter of purchasing implements was committed, under instructions of this Office (of which Governor Meriwether was informed),⁵⁰ of June 13th & July 8th, 1856, to Alfred Cumming Supt. Indian Affairs at St. Louis.⁵¹ A report is expected from him soon on this subject, after the receipt of which I shall be prepared to come to a definite determination in the premises.

If the fund appropriated for "presents to the Pueblo Indians" has not been disbursed as rapidly as you have thought to be most advantageous, circumstances have occurred, under which, in the judgment of Governor Meriwether, and of this Office, it is believed the best that could have been done, was done.

It is presumed that you were aware of all the facts, and the orders of this Office in the premises; and if so I am at a loss to determine why your letter was not enclosed direct to the Office, as is usual, and in conformity with the regulations of the Department.

Very Respectfully,
Your Obt. Servant,
GEO. W. MANYPENNY,
Commissioner.

Manypenny to Mayers, Washington, D. C., December 26,
1856.⁵²

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
December 26th 1856

Mayers, A. G.
Indian Agent for New Mexico,
New Orleans, La:

Sir:

In a letter of Acting Governor Davis under date of

50. Manypenny to Meriwether, June 14, 1856. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 34*, 356-357. Quoted, *ante*, p. 312, note 27.

51. Manypenny to Cumming, June 13, 1856. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 54*, 345-355. Quoted, *ante*, p. 311, note 27.

52. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 55*, 472.

29th March last, the attention of this Office was called to two suggestions in one of your monthly reports viz: that an appropriation be asked for surveying and establishing the boundary of the lands belonging to the various Indian pueblos in the Territory of New Mexico: and the report by Congress of the law of the territorial legislature creating the pueblos bodies politic or corporate, and giving them the rights to sue and be sued.

It is now important, if any steps are to be taken on these subjects during the present Session of Congress, that any suggestions you may have to offer be forwarded to this Office with as little delay as practicable.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Servant,

GEO. W. MANYPENNY,

Commissioner.

Mayers to Manypenny, New Orleans, January 3, 1857.⁵³

New Orleans Jan'y 3d 1857

Sir

Your Letter dated December 26th 1856 came to hand to day and I hasten a Reply.

To the first question In relation to Surveying the different Pueblos. Its importance will appear from the fact that many of the Pueblos are now occupied by Mexican Citizens, who claim lands under various Titles, none of which I beleive (*sic*) are valid. they Pretend to claim under the laws of mexico after the Conquest from Spain. by reference to the original grants to the Pueblo Indians by Spain, it will be seen that the Penalety (*sic*) for selling any of their Pueblo Lands was punished by death. scince (*sic*) that time however many of the Pueblos have been Encroached upon by mexicans, untill (*sic*) many of the Pueblos best Lands have been taken from them. some of the few Pueblos that I visited, I found the best lands occupied by Mexicans, and when I wished to Know how and why they held these Lands, I was meet (*sic*) with insolence, and for this Reason I have Recommended the survey of the Different Pueblos, that each Pueblo might Know their Limits. the only way to Establish the rights of the Indians is to survey their grants, marks their Bounderies, (*sic*) and Patant (*sic*) their Lands to them, and then let them govern themselves by laws of their own, subject to the laws of the united states in crimalnal (*sic*) cases. there always will be law suits

53. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 240/1857.

brought against the Indians, and the only way to prevent it is to allow them to administer their own affairs among themselves, which they are well qualified to do. by surveying (*sic*) their Lands, and allowing them to govern among themselves they would be a much more prosperous People.

The best reason I can give for the repeal of the law permitting these Indians to sue and be sued, is the fact that the lawyers and not the Indians are benefited (*sic*) by it. the law suits between the Pueblo of Acama (*sic*) and Laguna has already cost the Parties several Hundred Dollars If not thousands, whereas If the agent had the Power to settle the differences between them, It could be done at very little cost, and certainly it would be less expensive (*sic*) than to pass through the courts, and pay Lawyers fees & court Charges. Another annoyance to the Pueblo Indians is the alcaldes of the inferior courts frequently harass them by entertaining Petty and frivolous suits against the Pueblo Indians. If they were left alone they could settle their matters among themselves, this they are as well qualified to do as any People in new Mexico. these Indians should Either have all the Priviledge (*sic*) of citizens or not be subject to the courts in Petty law suits. I might add that they are as well qualified to be citizens of the united states as are the Mexican Population of this country. Each Pueblo has a code of laws of their own. they administer Justice fairly among their own People. they certainly are the most industrious, honest, hard working, People in New Mexico, they get along harmoniously among themselves. the Pueblo Indians with kind treatment from Goverment (*sic*) would always be reliable in case of a war with the other more hostile tribes. the Indians of Laguna and Acama (*sic*) Pueblos have had a number of suits in court and have both expressed a wish to be Kept (*sic*) out of Court to me, as they complain of the Expences, (*sic*) it often happens that the cases they are Engaged in are of a trifling Carracter (*sic*) but Expensive. (*sic*) there is among the Pueblo Indians men of considerable Information, their best informed are generally Elected to govern the Pueblo, and from all the Knowledge I have of the Pueblo Indians the best thing that could be done for them would be to survey their lands, mark their Boundaries, and repeal the law permitting them to sue and be sued, and let them be subject to the Intercourse law, and any disputes that arise among

themselves can be settled by an agent, better than by vexatious Law suits. It has never been decided Illegal to sell Liquor within the Limits of a Pueblo, yet in two Instances I compelled Partys (*sic*) to give bond and take out Licences (*sic*) to trade within the limits of the Pueblo, and Prohibited the introduction of liquor, for this the People of the Pueblo were highly pleased. the result of my observation in the Premises is that much good will follow If these People were Entirely governed by the intercourse law through an agent. as they are now situated tthey are neither one thing or the other. the Territorial Legislature says the Indians shall sue and be sued, but denys (*sic*) them the rights of citizenship, and when the agent wishes to Protect the Indians he is meet (*sic*) with a threat that the courts of the Territory has the only power to regulate the Pueblo Indians.

these Indians are the steadfast friends of our Government. (*sic*) I have leart (*sic*) something of their habits and customs, and It affords me Pleasure to lay the foregoing statements before you and hope that Congress will act on the subject.

Respectfully your
obt. St.

A. G. MAYERS
Agent for the Pueblo
Indians of N. M.

Hon. G. W. Manypenny
Commissioner of
Indian affairs

Mayers to Charles E. Mix, Osiyka, Miss. April 6, 1857.⁵⁴
Osiyka Miss April 6th 1857

Sir

I leave to day for Fort Smith Arkansas. Should your department desire to communicate with me, a letter will reach me at the above designated Place.

very Respectfully
your obt St

A. G. MAYERS
Indian agent for
New Mexico

Hon. Chas. E. Mix
acting Commissioner
of Indian affairs
Washington City D. C.

54. O. I. A., General Files, *New Mexico*, M 274/1857.

Charles E. Mix to Mayers, Washington, D. C., April 14,
1857.⁵⁵

Department of the Interior
Office Indian Affairs
April 14th 1857

Mayers Esq. A. G.
Fort Smith
Arkansas.
Sir,

Having received your letter of the 6th instant informing me that a communication would reach you at Fort Smith, Arkansas, I hasten to inform you, that direction of the Secretary of the Interior that your resignation⁵⁶ of the office of Agent for the Indians in New Mexico has been accepted, and your successor has been appointed and received his commission.

Should there be any public money or property at Santa Fe under your control, and with which you are chargeable, (*sic*) you may relieve yourself and sureties from responsibility therefor, by causing the same to be delivered to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs there who is instructed to receive the same and execute receipts therefor.

You are also requested, if you have not anticipated this request already, to file your final accounts as soon as practicable, that they may be examined and settled in accordance with law.

Very Respectfully
Your obdt Servant

CHAS. E. MIX
Commissioner ad interim.

55. O. I. A., *Letter Book no. 56*, 349.

56. A careful search of the files of the Office of Indian Affairs failed to locate the text of Mayers's letter of resignation.

A "FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA" NOTE

By H. R. WAGNER

SINCE writing my article on Fray Marcos de Niza¹ I discovered among my documents a photostat of a letter from Coronado to the emperor, dated Compostela July 15, 1539. It is numbered 66-5-14. It treats of his visit to Culiacán and has the following regarding Niza:

I took with me to this province of Culiacan a friar of the Order of San Francisco named Fray Marcos de Niza who was sent to me by the viceroy of New Spain to enter the country inland as he was going by his order in the name of your majesty to discover by land the coast of this New Spain in order to find out its secrets, its lands, and the people in it. In order that he might enter with more security I sent certain Indians of those who had been enslaved in this province of New Galicia, and whom the viceroy had liberated, to the towns of Petatlan, and Cuchillo, which is about sixty leagues beyond Culiacan. I told them to call some natives of these towns and to tell them to have no fear as your majesty had ordered that war should not be made on them nor should they receive any bad treatment or be enslaved.

With this, and seeing that the messengers who went to call them were freed, and being no little surprised at their liberty, more than eighty men came to me to whom, after having given them very particularly to understand your royal wish, namely that your majesty at present does not wish of them anything except that they become Christians and know God and recognize your majesty as their lord, I charged them to take inland Fray Marcos with every security, and Estéban, a negro, whom the viceroy bought for this purpose from one of those who escaped from Florida whose name is Estéban. After traveling for six (?) days, thanks be to God, they found a very good country as your majesty will see by the account of Fray Marcos and by what the viceroy writes you, for which reason I do not do so here. I hope that the Lord and your majesty may be very

1. Published in the April issue, pp. 184-227, *supra*. In that paper the following corrections are necessary: Page 1919, line 10, insert "not" in the parenthesis after "was." Page 200, line 15, insert "reported" after "towns." Page 202, line 2, cut one "i" out of "interpollations." Page 212, line 21, "Francisco" should be "Francisco."

well served, not only from the greatness which Fray Marcos ascribes to the country but also from the good plan and industry which the viceroy has used in discovering it and will use in pacifying it and placing it under the domain of your majesty.

Dr. C. Pérez Bustamante in his *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago, 1928) published a part of this letter as Doc. No. VIII, but from a copy in the Muñoz documents. In place of the word "six" (which I have questioned) he has put the word *sus*. In the original the word might be *sus* which, although I do not think it good Spanish, is perhaps preferable to *seis* (six), since there is nothing in Niza's narrative to indicate that he found a good country in six days' journey. Coronado is obviously referring to some country much farther away from Culiacán, probably the Seven Cities themselves.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865. By Arthur Charles Cole. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934. Pp. xv-468. (vol. VII, A History of American Life). Illustrations, critical bibliography, and index. \$4.00.

This book is a healthy antidote to the post-World War pessimism and realism. If America could survive the trials of the 1850's there is hope for the future. Amidst the hustle and bustle of a rapidly expanding state, with the growing pains of a developing society, the shadow of civil war intruded. Not that the shadow is emphasized, however. Chapters XII-XV are devoted to the war period, but they do not substantiate Sherman's famous dictum unless we include in its category profiteering, graft in government, pro-war propaganda, stimulus to prostitution, and a forgotten idealism.

Professor Cole finds the basic cause of the Civil War in a divergent nationalism due to different social and economic structures separated by the Mason-Dixon line. A booming industrial North with faith in Democracy pitted against a static Southern agrarian society, resting on chattel slavery, struggling, too late, for economic self-sufficiency; "Cotton is King" had done its work too well. The pre-War years witnessed a gradual severing of the economic, social, and intellectual bonds, with the Southern society acquiring a "coherence, if not unity, on the eve of a struggle that was to determine its very right to exist." (p. 57.)

Chapters I-XI present a cross section of American life in the social and economic phases. The unity of the frontier disappeared in the Mississippi Valley. The northern half was bound to the North by railroads and industry and the Union was saved. Free homesteads were demanded; the merchant marine experienced its golden age with the fast sailing clipper; speculation was rife, only to be sobered

by a short-lived depression. The farmer prospered and labor was becoming class conscious.

The 1850's were a period of "isms" and reforms, largely confined to the North. Prohibition was tried. "It seemed to many . . . 'to deteriorate the quality of the liquor drunk under it, and to double its cost . . .'" (p. 162). Lager beer, popularized by the German immigrants, was a powerful opponent. "The outstanding fact in the anti-slavery cause of the fifties was the awakened conscience of the masses of the free states." (p. 262.)

Chapter XVI consists of an excellent critical bibliography of forty-two pages. The footnotes are interesting for their frequent citations to contemporary newspapers and periodicals.

FRANK D. REEVE.

University of New Mexico.

Colorado: The Story of a Western Commonwealth. By LeRoy R. Hafen. (The Peerless Publishing Company, Denver, 1933; 328 pages. Illustrated; index. \$4.00.)

Every so often it becomes necessary to rewrite history. Especially is this true as to the history of Western commonwealths. The march of events is apt to be not only rapid, but revolutionary. Fortunate are states such as Colorado in possessing a historian like Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen, a graduate of the University of California, and since 1924, historian of the State Historical Society of Colorado. His early volumes, *The Overland Mail*, *Broken Hand* and *Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Region* are treasured in schools and libraries in all parts of the United States, but especially in the Rocky Mountain region.

Dr. Hafen has taught history in high school, was a teaching fellow at the University of California, has taught in Denver University and the University of Colorado, and is editor of the *Colorado Magazine*, published by the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Much more condensed than the three-volume history of Colorado which he compiled with James H. Baker in 1927, the newest history of Colorado is comparable in size with that by Lansing Bloom of the State of New Mexico, lately published for high school use.

Colorado looks back upon the same ancestry as New Mexico, not only in prehistoric times, but also more modern days. In southwestern Colorado are the monumental evidences of the early peoples who built the great terraced houses in the Chaco Canyon before they spread out to the San Juan country and the Mesa Verde further north.

It is fitting therefore that Dr. Hafen devotes a chapter to the results of the late archaeological research among the cliff-dwellers of that section. The Indians of the slopes and plains were of the same race, and Dr. Hafen in his chapter on "The Nomad Lords of Mountain and Plain," repeats the tribute of Chauncey Thomas: "Greek art and culture did not affect the Roman more than the Indian has affected the American, and in due time History will so record the fact."

In natural sequence is the chapter on discovery, beginning with Colorado and ending with Major Stephen H. Long's expedition up the Platte River in the summer of 1820. It was Major Long, who in his report labeled the entire plains region east of the Rockies "The Great American Desert," and who declared it was "uninhabitable by people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence."

Then came the days of the fur trade and of the Santa Fé Trail, with such heroes as Jedediah Smith, Kit Carson, Charles Bent and others who belong as much to New Mexico as they do to Colorado. In fact, the sovereignty which had its home in the Palace of the Governors at Santa Fé included all of Colorado, and even up to 1861 the southern portion of the later "Centennial State" still lay in New Mexico. It was the Spaniards from New Mexico who essayed the first expeditions into the Pike's Peak region and who made the first permanent settlements in parts now Colorado. It was as late as 1851 when San Luís on the Culebra River was

founded, to be followed by settlements at San Pedro and San Acacio. In 1854, the first permanent settlement west of the Rio Grande in the San Lu s valley was made on the Conejos River and named Guadalupe, the settlers looking to Santa F  for guidance and authority.

It was not until then that rumors of gold in the Colorado Rockies began to reach the East and brought adventurers and prospectors from that direction. Denver dates back only to 1860, and from that time on, the development of Colorado began to diverge from that of New Mexico, rapidly surpassing the older settled commonwealth in population and wealth.

Dr. Hafen's narrative maintains its interest up to and including the last chapter, which is devoted to the Colorado of today and recent changes and innovations. It might have proved valuable if the statistics given had been compared with those of New Mexico and other states of the West.

There is still to be written a philosophic history which will give reasons for the differences in culture and material advancement which seem to be determined by artificial rather than natural boundaries. State histories rest more or less on the work done by predecessors in research. Dr. Hafen has made full use of these and his bibliographic references will be valued by those who come after him.

P. A. F. W.

The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence. By Lillian E. Fisher. (Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, 1934. 512 pp., including 38 pp. of bibliography; index; no illustrations or maps. \$4.00.)

After three hundred years of Spanish rule, why did Mexico revolt from the mother country? Dr. Fisher answers the question in this voluminous study which may be characterized as a digest. Nearly every page is annotated with references to the numerous sources which, for some years past, she has been gathering from the archives in

Seville, Mexico City, at Berkeley and at Austin. Every statement which she makes rests directly upon her authorities. Even when she endorses the old invidious comparison between Spanish and English colonization (which has become so wearisome by its reiteration and superficiality) she immediately quotes Abad y Queipo, bishop of Michoacán; "Spain treated the people well, compared with other nations . . . giving all the conquered natives the rights which the conquerors enjoyed. . . ." (p.15)

And yet the book as a whole portrays the failure of the Spanish colonial system. Essentially it is a study of Spanish administration—as viewed by the *creole Spaniards* of New Spain. There is nothing to indicate what the native people thought of it; they were to be inarticulate for another century. "Mexican Independence" in 1821 meant merely separation from the mother country, and it was the concern and achievement of those born in New Spain who claimed Spanish descent. It was the triumph of *criollos* and *mestizos* over the *gachupín* class and *gachupín* administration.

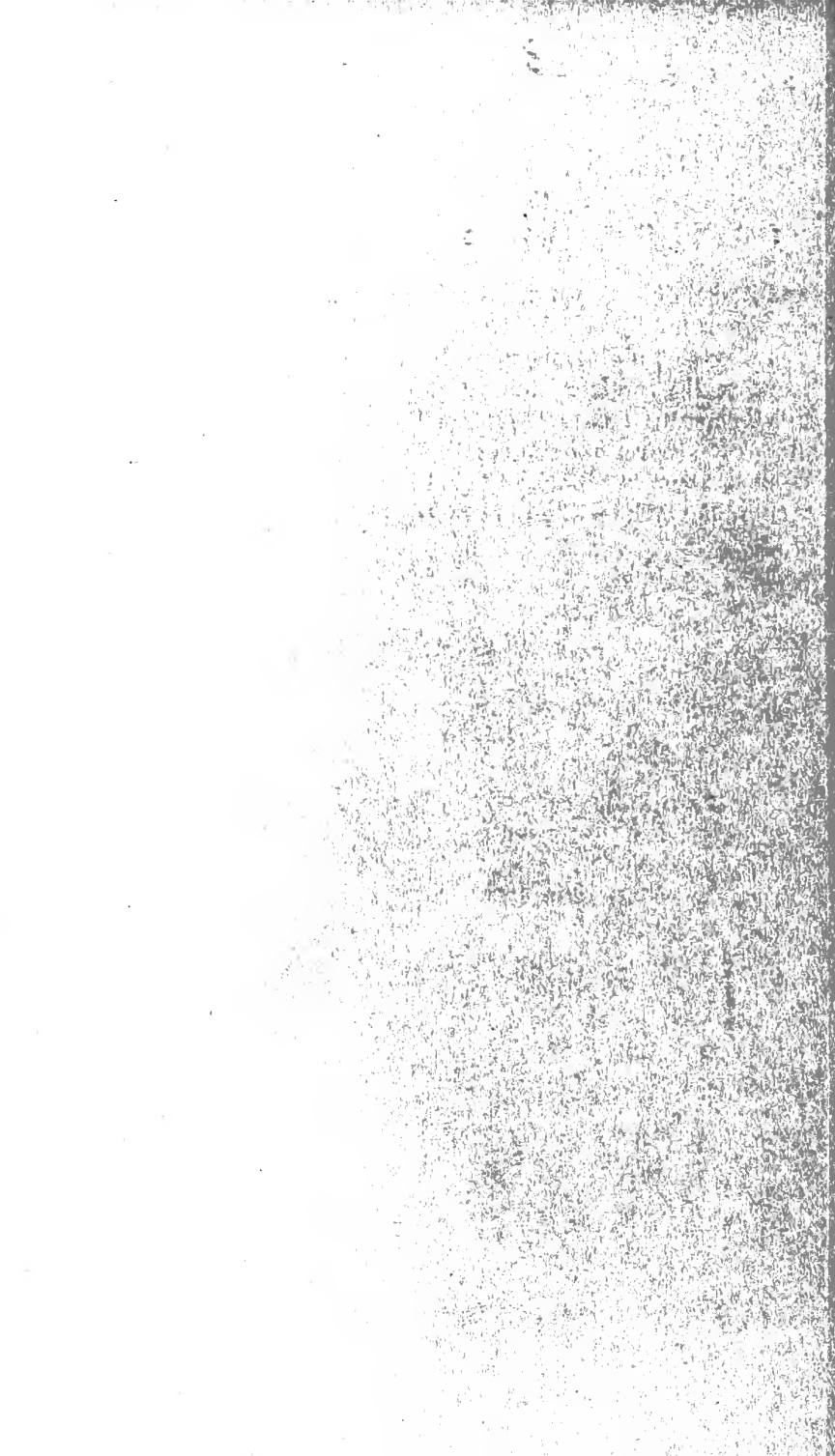
Dr. Fisher's study does not alter any of the main lines of the picture, as they have long been recognized, but it is an excellent analysis of her subject and a filling-in of the picture with almost a plethora of detail. Perhaps in no other way could the reader be so impressed with the complex problems and difficulties under which the Spanish monarchy of that time was staggering. He is not apt to read this mass of evidence without feeling a new respect and astonishment for the Spanish people.

In eight chapters the author analyzes and criticizes (with the aid of her contemporary creole sources) "Social Conditions," "The Intellectual Background," "Commerce," "Industry," "Finance," "The Church," "Political Administration Attempts at Reform." In the last two chapters she discusses "Foreign Influences" and the "Influence of Events in Spain."

At p. 188, line 22, the date 1810 should read 1820; and when had the mint of Guanajuato been *opened*? Most of

the slips noticed in the text are simply omitted or transposed letters, but a few words are misspelled: indigenes, guild, intolerance (e. g., pp. 45, 49, 157, 167, 190, 249). "From whence" (p. 362) is jarring. Morelos suffers a slight indignity (p. 256) and the name of Croix is partly Frenchified (125, 433, 460, and index)—simply because one of his writings was published in Nantes (editor not named). The good, noble, public-spirited (etc., etc., etc.) "Abad y Queipo" is correctly indexed; but in the bibliography his writings must be sought under "Queipo" (448, 457). These are all slips of minor importance; the fact that there are not far more of them in a book of this kind is evidence of very commendable work on the part of the author.

L. B. B.



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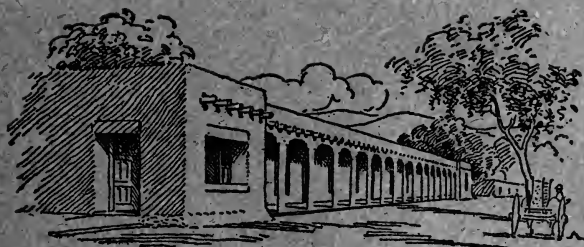
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FRONTIER DEFENSE IN THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO, 1853-1861¹

By A. B. BENDER

JEFFERSON DAVIS became secretary of war on March 7, 1853.² Taking up the problem of frontier defense, he declared that he was not in sympathy with the plan of his predecessor.³ In his annual report of December 1, 1853, Davis characterized Conrad's defense program—that of locating a long line of military posts among the Indians—as expensive and ineffective. He contended that such a plan would injure discipline and deaden the efficiency of the troops. Furthermore, the division of forces would be interpreted by the Indians as an exhibition of weakness. To attempt to guard the entire frontier was utterly impractical. He leaned, therefore, to the frontier policy of Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup. Like the latter, Davis believed that a more effective mode of defense was to mass a few large bodies of troops at strategic positions.⁴ Within the fertile regions, a few points accessible by steamboats or railroads should be selected. Large garrisons maintained at such points could serve as bases for operation into the In-

1. This is the third in a series of articles dealing with the New Mexican Frontier, 1846-1861. For an account of official explorations, see A. B. Bender, "Government explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 1-32; "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1853," is in *ibid.*, IX, 249-272.

2. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of United States Army, 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903), I, 16.

3. This was Secretary of War Charles M. Conrad. *Ibid.*

4. *Sen. Ex Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 6.

dian country.⁵ Davis's concentration policy was carried out but partially.

Meanwhile the civil and military authorities in the territory of New Mexico or the Ninth Military Department* attempted to solve the problem of frontier defense. In July, 1853, General John Garland was assigned to the command of the department and soon arrived with some 300 recruits to strengthen the military posts.⁷ Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs David Meriwether, who had arrived in August,⁸ also had a theory about handling the Indian problem. He believed that the title to all Indian lands near the settlements should be purchased, to be paid for in annuities, and deductions made for depredations. Above all, Meriwether advocated vigor and decision. "Feed or clothe the Indians or chastise them. But do it decisively," he urged.⁹

The apostle of firmness found conditions far from satisfactory. The Mescalero and White Mountain Apache, in particular, were giving trouble.¹⁰ To Commissioner of Indian Affairs John W. Manypenny, Meriwether wrote that nothing on the border was safe. Robbery and murder were the order of the day.¹¹ Despite this alarming picture, Secretary of War Davis reported to the president that the territory was comparatively free from Indian disturbances during that year. The few depredations that did occur, he

5. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 5, pt. 2, p. 6.

6. See this volume, page 249.

7. General Garland was assigned to the command of the Ninth Military Department on July 20, 1853. With the exception of a brief period October 11, 1856-May 12, 1857, when Colonel Bonneville was in temporary command, Garland was the chief military officer until September 16, 1858. R. P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813-1880* (Washington 1881), 50-71; *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, August 13, 1853.

8. Meriwether assumed the duties of his office on August 8, 1853. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 374.

9. *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 430-431.

10. Michael Steck to Meriwether, August 23, 1853; John Garland to Meriwether September 14, 1853. Ms., Letters Received, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Indian Office, Department of Interior, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.).

11. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 430.

stated, were generally traced to murderers and outlaws for whose actions none of the tribes could be held justly responsible. The tribes to which these lawless members belonged promised to deliver the murderers and to restore plundered property.¹² To assure greater security in the territory, Davis believed that an additional regiment of cavalry and one of infantry were needed.¹³

While Davis and Meriwether aired their views about the proper mode of frontier defense, military officers took more direct action. In the fall of 1853 General Garland inspected all the military posts of the department except forts Massachusetts, Defiance, and Cantonment Burgwin.¹⁴ In December of the same year Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel D. T. Chandler was directed to reconnoiter the White Mountains country, to interview the principal chiefs of the Mescalero Apache, and to demand restitution of stolen property and the surrender of murderers. If he did not obtain satisfaction Chandler was to attack the Indians.¹⁵ At the same time Brevet Major James H. Carleton, First Dragoons, conducted an exploring-punitive expedition into the reputed haunts of the Apache in the vicinity of the Gran Quivira country.¹⁶

These expeditions into the Indian country, coupled with insistent demands of the Mexican government and the frontier settlers for more adequate protection, resulted in the erection of three additional military posts. Fort Thorn was built in December, 1853 and was garrisoned with two companies from Fort Webster, which was than abandoned. The

12. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, pp. 4, 5.

13. By the end of 1853 an aggregate of 1,678 men, composed of twenty-one companies, were distributed among the ten military posts of the department. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 51.

14. For a description of these posts see *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 60; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 9, pp. 425-426; Lydia S. Lane, *I Married a Soldier* (Philadelphia, 1893), 46-47; Garland to L. Thomas, October 29, 1853. Ms., Letters Received, Adjutant General, Old Files Section, Executive Division: Adjutant General's Office, Washington (hereafter the last reference will be cited as Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.)

15. W. A. Nichols to D. T. Chandler, December 11, 1853. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

16. For Carleton's expedition see Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 17-20.

new post was located on the west bank of the Rio Grande at Santa Barbara, near the upper end of the Mesilla valley; it guarded the El Paso-Santa Fé route against Apache and outlaws.¹⁷ In the following year Fort Bliss¹⁸ was constructed near El Paso. In April Fort Craig was established and Fort Conrad abandoned. The new post was nine miles south of Fort Conrad and ten miles above Fray Cristobal. Located at the entrance of the Jornada del Muerto, it afforded better protection and was better situated for grazing purposes than the abandoned post had been.¹⁹

The state of comparative peace reported by Secretary of War Davis lasted for a little more than a year and then almost all of the Indian bands in the territory took to the war-path. Active campaigns against the Mescalero, Jicarilla, and Utah under the direction of General Garland followed. Treaties were negotiated by Governor Meriwether but were not approved by the federal government. The Indian situation remained unsolved. On March 30, 1854 the Santa Fé-Texas mail was attacked by a combined force of some 250 Jicarilla Apache and Utah warriors about twenty-five miles from Taos. The mail train's escort, composed of some sixty dragoons under Lieutenant (later Captain) J. W. Davidson suffered heavy losses; Davidson with but seventeen men,

17. Fort Thorn occupied a very unhealthy site, being located upon the edge of an extensive marsh. It was abandoned in 1859. Assistant Surgeon T. Charlton Henry characterized it as the "sickliest post in the territory." *H. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 60; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 52, pp. 222-225; Garland to S. Cooper, January 27, 1854. *Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.*

18. The "Post of El Paso" was established in February, 1848 and was garrisoned by three companies of First Dragoons and one of the Santa Fé Battalion, Third Missouri Mounted Volunteers. The official designation as Fort Bliss was not made until March 8, 1854. With the shifting of boundaries of the departments of Texas and New Mexico, during 1853-1861, Fort Bliss was shunted back and forth between these departments. By General Orders, Number 12, December 8, 1860, the post was restored to the Department of Texas. Fort Bliss, Post Returns, February 1848, March, 1854, March, 1867, December, 1870. Records Section, Officers Division, Adjutant General's Office, Washington.

19. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, p. 414; John S. Billings, *Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington, 1870), 244.

mostly wounded, escaped.²⁰ Three days later the New Mexico legislature memorialized the United States senate for more adequate protection.²¹

To prevent further disaster and to check the Apache, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip St. George Cooke carried the war into the heart of the Indian country. He assembled about 200 dragoons, a company of artillery, and some thirty Mexicans and Indians at Taos, and on April 4 took the field. Kit Carson served as guide. For four days this frontier army laboriously plodded through a very broken and precipitous country in search of the Indians' trail. On April 8 Cooke discovered the Indians near Agua or Ojo Caliente and gave them battle. The Apache under their principal chief, Chacón, were routed.²²

In the latter part of May federal troops encountered another band of Apache at Cieneguilla. Lieutenant Davidson and a force of sixty men from Cantonment Burgwin, who had been on a scouting expedition, discovered the Apache on a mountain ridge. Although the Indians had the advantage of position and were superior in number—about 200 strong—the troops charged their camp. After a loss of some twenty men, Davidson withdrew to Taos. Shortly afterward the Indians retreated to the west side of the Rio Grande, being hotly pursued by Colonel Cooke with a force of about 200 dragoons and riflemen and a spy company of citizens and Pueblo Indians.²³ By the end of June the Apache were so thoroughly humbled that they sued for peace.²⁴ A force of 180 men under Colonel Chandler was still in the field in the country of the Mescalero.²⁵

20. R. P. Bieber, "Papers of James J. Webb, Santa Fé Merchant, 1844-1866," in *Washington Universities Studies*, XI, Humanistic Series, No. 2, p. 295; *Austin State Gazette*, April 29, 1854; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 33-34.

21. *Senate Journal*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 297.

22. P. St. George Cooke to W. A. Nichols, May 24, 1854. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

23. *Austin State Gazette*, June 3, 1854.

24. John Garland to L. Thomas, September 30, 1854. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

25. This band had been infesting the road leading from El Paso to San Antonio, committing robbery and murder. *Ibid.*

Congress next took up the Indian problem. By Act of July 31, 1854, it appropriated \$30,000 for the negotiation of treaties with the Apache, Navaho, and Utah. Governor Meriwether was entrusted with the negotiations.²⁶ In the fall of the year the latter reported to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Manypenny that the losses sustained by the white population of the territory during the current year (1854) were about \$112,000.²⁷

While Meriwether was preparing to act, the Indians again took to the war path. On February 7, 1885 Senator Albert G. Brown of Mississippi presented a memorial from the citizens of New Mexico requesting a loan of arms and ammunition and "praying for . . . protection . . . against Indian depredations."²⁸ General Garland, too, pointed out the need of a larger military force in the department. He called upon the governor for five companies of mounted volunteers for a six months' period and urged congress to make the necessary appropriations and to send at least 550 recruits. President Pierce submitted this report to the secretary of war, asking for an immediate increase in the military strength on the western frontier.²⁹

Meanwhile Garland sent out punitive expeditions. By March of the same year almost 1,000 troops were in the field. Captain R. S. Ewell, First Dragoons, conducted a campaign against the Mescalero in February. The Indians were defeated and sued for peace. Lieutenant Samuel D. Sturgis and his command gave chase to another band of Mescalero and routed them. These Indians came to Fort Thorn to sue for peace. A band of Utah having committed murders and depredations along the upper Red River, Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy led a force of about 500 regulars and volunteers in pursuit. A combined force of Utah and Apache warriors

26. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 526.

27. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 222.

28. *Senate Journal*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 208.

29. In November, 1855, the adjutant general's office reported an aggregate of 2,112 men in the department of New Mexico. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 56-57, 138-139.

was overtaken at Cochetopa Pass and the Indians were routed. In a second engagement on the Upper Arkansas, near the Poncho Pass, the Indians were again defeated and forced to sue for peace.

To break the power of the Apache, Colonel Dixon S. Miles, with a force of some 300 men, set out on a three months' campaign through the White, Sacramento, and Guadalupe mountains. He did not measure strength with the Indians. Upon arriving at the Bonita river, Dr. Michael Steck, Indian agent for the Apache, pleaded their cause. The Indians sued for peace, promising to surrender stolen property and to deliver hostages.³⁰ Miles's expedition not only quieted the Indians but also opened two new wagon roads.³¹

The Apache depredations showed the need of additional military posts in the department. Fort Stanton was established in May, 1855. The post was located on the site near which Captain H. W. Stanton had lost his life in an encounter with the Mescalero Apache. It was very favorably situated on the Bonita River, some twenty miles east of the White Mountains. Being easily accessible, in a region abundantly supplied with grass, wood, and water and on a good connecting road,³² Fort Stanton was no small factor in lessening the power of the Mescalero. Settlements in the vicinity of the neighboring mountains were thus made com-

30. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. 507-510, pt. 2, pp. 57, 59-69.

31. Miles opened one wagon road from Fort Fillmore to the junction of the Ruidoso with the Bonita river and a second one from Albuquerque to the same point—a distance of about 150 miles. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, pp. 69-70.

32. Fort Stanton was the center of a military reservation embracing an area of more than 140 square miles. In July, 1857, Captain J. N. Macomb of the Topographical Engineers was *en route* to the post to survey and mark the boundaries of the military reservation. The post was abandoned in August, 1861 but was reoccupied in the following year by a garrison of volunteers. After the Civil War it was occupied by four companies of the Eighth Cavalry and one company of New Mexico volunteers. It was again abandoned in August, 1896. *Ibid.*, p. 70; Billings, *opus cit.*, 248; Carl C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (Cleveland, 1928), p. 63, footnote 393; J. N. Macomb to J. J. Abert, July 28, 1857. Ms., Letters Received, Chief of Topographical Engineers, Old Records Section, Office of Chief of Engineers, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.).

paratively safe.³³ By September of 1855 Meriwether wrote that the tribes which had been on the warpath earlier in the year had been humbled and had sued for peace. Treaties³⁴ had been negotiated with the Mimbres and Mescalero Apache,³⁵ Navaho and Utah with the understanding that they cultivate the land assigned them. But the sale of "ardent spirits" to the Indian and his practice of gambling—for which the white man was responsible—left the tribes destitute and goaded them on to new outbreaks. To check these evils Meriwether recommended that the trade and intercourse laws with the Indians be extended over the entire territory and that gambling be made a penal offense.³⁶

With the acquisition of the Gadsden Purchase, some 5,000 Indians were added to the existing troublesome native population. To meet this new problem, additional military posts were needed. Fort Buchanan was established in 1856 as a protection for the Santa Cruz valley and as a check on the Indians north of the Gila. The post was located in the Sonoita, about twenty-five miles east of Tubac³⁷ and was garrisoned by four companies of First Dragoons.³⁸

33. Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora* (New York, 1864), 22.

34. Meriwether's treaties were not ratified by the senate. Even if they had been, it is doubtful whether the Indians would have observed them. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 542.

35. The country reserved for the occupancy of this band was south of Fort Stanton, about twenty-seven miles wide, extending from the Sacramento mountains to the Pecos river. From this time on, an agency was maintained at this post and the Mescalero who kept the peace were rewarded by a payment in goods. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 506-510; R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 302.

36. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 509.

37. Picturesque Tubac, the business center of the silver mine district of the territory, was first settled by Americans in 1856 when Charles D. Poston established his mining headquarters there. Between 1856 and 1860 it contained a mixed population of some 400 inhabitants, composed of Americans, Germans, Mexicans, and Indians. Upon the opening of the Civil War, the Apache swooped down on Tubac and after a brave attempt on the part of the American residents, the town was abandoned. By 1864 it was a city of ruins. J. W. Barber and H. Howe, *History of all the Western States and Territories* (Cincinnati, 1867), 565; J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country* (New York, 1869), 147-159; Mowry, *opus cit.*, 25.

38. Of all the army posts in the Southwest, Fort Buchanan was probably the worst situated and most poorly constructed. As late as July, 1859, it consisted of a series of temporary jacal buildings. The quarters lacked neatness and comfort. The

Reports on the Indian situation in the department for 1856 were somewhat conflicting. Colonel James L. Collins, who succeeded Meriwether as principal Indian official,³⁹ wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix that more murders and robberies were perpetrated in 1856 than in any one previous year.⁴⁰ Governor Meriwether, on the other hand, represented conditions as comparatively quiet. The Mimbres Apache he reported busily engaged in cultivating their farms. The Mescalero showed less improvement as they depended on the chase and thieving for their subsistence. The Gila Apache, too, made little progress. These bands were still actively engaged in robbing the peaceful Pueblos and travellers on the road from El Paso to California.⁴¹ The Jicarilla, who had been visited by Indian agents, seemed loyal to the government and asked for assignment to permanent homes.⁴² The Utah, too, asked for homes and expressed a willingness to commence farming the next spring.⁴³ The tribes, including those in the Gadsden Purchase, Meriwether also reported as prosperous and peaceful. The Navaho, however, continued in their favorite

39. Upon the organization of the New Mexico territory, the governor became *ex-officio* superintendent of Indian affairs. This position was held successively by Calhoun (1851-1852), Lane (1852-1853), and Meriwether (1853-1857). In 1857 the two offices were separated; James L. Collins became superintendent and W. W. H. Davis acted as governor until the arrival of Abraham R. Rencher. Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 314, footnote 241; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 662.

40. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 542.

41. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 5, pt. 1, pp. 731-732.

42. It was not until 1873 that the federal government set aside a reservation for these Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1899), pt. 2, p. 668.

43. Although the treaty concluded with this tribe in 1849 provided for a speedy designation of boundaries, it was not until 1868 that these Indians were located on a reservation in Colorado. *Ibid.*, pp. 780, 848-849.

houses were constructed of upright posts of decaying timber and covered with mud; dirt and grass covered the flat roofs as well as the floors; the rooms were low, narrow, and without ventilation. Stables, corrals, pig-pens, and dwellings were scattered indiscriminately over a distance of half a mile. Because of the unhealthy site, the troops suffered continually. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 5, pt. 2, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 52, pp. 210-211, 219-220; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 1, p. 3; William J. Sloan to John D. Wilkins, July 17, 1859, B. L. E. Bonneville to L. Thomas, July 15, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

practice of stealing cattle and sheep.⁴⁴ In his annual report to the president, Secretary of War Davis expressed the same views as Meriwether. Except for occasional depredations, the Indians in this department showed no settled hostility to the whites.⁴⁵

While Meriwether and Davis represented the New Mexican Indian situation in a favorable light, the territorial legislature made an adverse report. It pointed out that no less than 30,000 uncivilized Indians roamed about with but little restraint and committed numerous depredations. In one foray Indian rustlers drove off no less than 10,000 head of sheep. The legislature requested that the Indians be located on reservations.⁴⁶

In the various official reports of 1857, the adoption of a reservation policy was favored. Collins, the new superintendent of Indian affairs of the department, strongly urged that the treaty-making policy be discarded and a colonizing plan substituted. The agent for the Utah, Diego Archuleta, expressed the same opinion, while Agent Steck recommended that the Apache be placed on a reservation below the Gila with four strong military companies as a guard. Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville⁴⁷ approved the reservation site selected

44. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 5, pt. 1, pp. 733-734.

45. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, p. 3.

46. The New Mexico legislature was continually memorializing congress. It maintained that the Indians were more treacherous and the white settlements less protected than when the Americans first came. To what extent these assertions were true is not certain. Conditions were bad. The constant cry for volunteer regiments may have been prompted by a desire on the part of New Mexicans to secure easy and profitable employment with the government as paymasters and in other capacities. Ms., Territorial Papers, listed in D. W. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives Relating to Territories of the United States to 1873* (Washington, 1911), Number 5466, Senate Files, 34 Congress, Archives Division, Department of State, Washington (hereafter cited as Ms., T. P., Parker, Number, S. F., Cong., A. D., Ms. D. S.). The Territorial Papers used were typewritten, collated copies; Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 300, footnote 224.

47. Benjamin L. E. de Bonneville was one of the most picturesque figures in the United States army. Born in France in (1795?) 1796, he immigrated to the United States at an early age, entered West Point in 1813, and two years later graduated from there as second lieutenant in the light artillery. In 1820 he was assigned to construct a military road in Mississippi. In 1831 he obtained leave of absence from the army and in the next year departed on an exploring tour to the Rocky Mountains. After being cut off from civilization for several years he returned with

by Steck, but the Apache were not located on reservations at this time. It was not until 1859 that permanent homes for the peaceful Pima and Maricopa tribes⁴⁸ were established.⁴⁹

For a number of years, the Mimbres, Gila, and Coyotero bands of Apache terrorized the frontier settlements west of the Rio Grande. Their bold forays extended to the north. Cattle-stealing and attacks upon exposed settlements occurred periodically. When the surprised the United States Indian agent H. L. Dodge, a few miles from Zuñi and brutally murdered him, the Gila expedition followed.⁵⁰

Colonel Bonneville was chief in command. Organizing his force in two main columns, he established his depot on the west bank of the Gila some twelve miles northwest of Lucien Springs. The northern column, commanded by Colonel William W. Loring and composed of three companies of infantry and several detachments of rifles and a company of spies under Captain Manuel Chaves,⁵¹ was detached on June 22. Loring's trail led across a rough, mountainous, and deserted country. In the Cañon of San Vincente, he

48. These tribes had rendered valuable service to the white man in the past. In 1847 they assisted Cooke's Battalion; they protected immigrant and mail trains against Apache; they sold food to immigrants. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, pp. 550, 555-557; Bureau of American Ethnology, *opus cit.*, pt. 2, pp. 820-821.

49. The site selected was a spot fifteen miles square in the vicinity of Santa Lucia Spring. The boundaries included a rich and fertile valley watered by the Gila and large enough to accommodate the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Chiricahua bands of Apache. Michael Steck to A. B. Greenwood, May 11, 1860; J. L. Collins to Greenwood, October 17, 1860. *Ms.*, L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

50. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 279-280.

51. For the career of this picturesque New Mexican who aided the federal forces in many a fight against the Indians, see Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 383, footnote 387.

a valuable account of his adventures. In the meantime, he had been dropped from the army but was restored in 1836. He was promoted to the rank of major, Sixth Infantry in 1845 and two years later was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for bravery in the Mexican War. In 1855 he became colonel, Third Infantry. From October, 1856 to May, 1857 he was in temporary command of the department of New Mexico, when he was succeeded by General John Garland. On September 16, 1858 he resumed command of the department and held this post until October 25, 1859, when he was succeeded by Colonel T. T. Fauntleroy. During the Civil War he served as superintendent of the recruiting service in Missouri and was made brigadier general in 1865. He died at Fort Smith, Arkansas on June 12, 1878. Thian, *opus cit.*, 71;

struck a trail of about 2,000 sheep and a party of Indians. Two days later, in the valley of the Safo River, a battle took place. The Indians were defeated and considerable plunder was recovered.⁵²

Bonneville accompanied the southern column, composed of about 400 men, including guides and spies of the Pueblo Indians and Captain Blas Lucero's Mexicans. Lieutenant-Colonel Dixon S. Miles commanded this division. After a twelve days' march from the depot on the Gila, the command encountered a band of Coyotero and Mogollon Apache, about thirty-five miles north of Mount Graham or Floridian. On June 27 a sharp fight took place in which the Indians were repulsed with some forty killed, including several women. The troops suffered only twelve wounded and succeeded in taking about forty prisoners and destroying considerable property.⁵³

The Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette* characterized the Gila expedition as the most arduous, trying, and dangerous military operation projected since New Mexico became a possession of the United States government.⁵⁴ At the close of the campaign the territorial legislature passed a joint resolution thanking Bonneville and his men for attaining their object. Despite the current belief that the expedition had been successful, it did not solve the Indian problem in the territory.⁵⁵ It did, however, bring to light valuable information about the character of the country on the headwaters of the

52. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, October 31, 1857.

53. *Ibid.*, H. Ex. Docs., 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 55-56, 60, 137; Dixon S. Miles to Bonneville, July 13, 1857. Ms., L. R., Headquarters of the Army, O. R. S., A. G. O. (hereafter Headquarters of the Army will be cited as H. A.)

54. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, October 31, 1857.

55. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 279-280.

George W. Cullum, *Register of Officers and Graduates of United States Military Academy at West Point, 1820-1850* (New York, 1850), 77; W. H. Ellison, "From Pierre's Hole to Monterey," in *Pacific Historical Review*, I, 92, footnote 35; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* (New York, 1852).

Gila and its tributaries—a region heretofore practically unexplored.⁵⁶

Meanwhile several suggestions were made for strengthening the southwestern frontier. Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry advocated the erection of a series of posts that would command the paths followed by the Apache in their foraging and plundering expeditions into Mexico. His suggestion included a cavalry post in the neighborhood of Tucson, one on the San Pedro, one in the vicinity of Los Mimbres, and one on the Gila above the Pima villages.⁵⁷

Secretary of War John B. Floyd⁵⁸ considered the strengthening of the frontier an immediate necessity. He advised that a line of posts running parallel with the frontier, but near enough to the Indian's habitat, be established at suitable positions and occupied by infantry. Such a line of defense, Floyd believed, would exercise a salutary restraint upon the tribes. In addition, he urged that large bodies of cavalry be stationed along the frontier, the cantonments to be located at points where hay and corn were plentiful and cheap.⁵⁹

Abraham R. Rencher, the new governor of the territory, arrived in Santa Fé in November, 1857 and shortly afterwards assumed the duties of his office.⁶⁰ The change in civil administration, however, did not improve the frontier conditions. In the following February the territorial legislature memorialized and petitioned congress to remove the wild tribes north of the 34th parallel.⁶¹ Until the opening of

56. Bonneville described portions of the region as most beautiful, healthy, and fertile. In some localities irrigating canals, ten feet wide, cut the mountain sides. Some of the valleys were capable of sustaining a population of 20,000 people. *Ibid.*; Bonneville to L. Thomas, June 2, 1857. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.

57. Annie E. Whittaker, "The Frontier Policy of the United States in the Mexican Cession, 1845-1860" (M.A. Thesis. University of Texas, 1927), 69.

58. Floyd was secretary of war from March 6, 1857 to December 9, 1860. Heitman, *opus cit.*, I, 16.

59. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 4-5.

60. See footnote 39; Abraham R. Rencher to Lewis Cass, December 11, 1857. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5475, Bureau of Rolls and Library, A. D., D. S. (hereafter Bureau of Rolls and Library will be cited as B. R. L.).

61. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 208, pp. 1-2.

the Civil War the various Indian bands periodically took to the war path and military attempts to subdue them proved but partially successful. During this period serious trouble arose with the Navaho. Numerous campaigns under the direction of Garland, Bonneville, Fauntleroy, and Canby followed. The southern Apache, too, renewed their raids. The Mormons were believed to be tampering with the Utah.

Early in 1858 trouble developed near Albuquerque and in the southern part of the department when Mexican bandits attacked some peaceful tribes. In February several Mexican outlaws swooped down upon a small band of Navaho in the vicinity of Albuquerque. At Doña Ana a similar attack was made on the Mescalero Apache. At daybreak on April 17, a party of armed Mexicans from Mesilla charged into the Indian camp at the Fort Thorn agency and ruthlessly butchered men, women, and children. Some thirty Mexican bandits under Juan Ortega were captured about one half mile from the post by a detachment of troops under Lieutenant George W. Howland.⁶²

About the same time the Pinal Apache disturbed the peace. Between February 15 and March 8 Captain Davidson, First Dragoons, with a command of seventy men, marched into the Pinal Indian country and along the north bank of the Gila. The surprise attack failed but the command learned considerable about the character of the country and the strength of the Indians.⁶³

In the fall of the year three elaborate expeditions took the field against the Navaho before these tribes were seemingly humbled. Some 300 men, composed of three companies of Mounted Rifles, two companies of infantry, and Captain Blas Lucero's company of guides and spies, left Fort Defiance on September 9,⁶⁴ in search of hostile Navaho.

62. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 283-289.

63. John W. Davidson to R. S. C. Lord, March 20, 1858. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

64. The first engagement with the Navaho occurred on August 29 near Ojo del Oso in which a detachment of Company I, Mounted Rifles, defeated the Indians. Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 315, footnote 242.

Lieutenant-Colonel Miles commanded the expedition. After trailing the Indians for several days, Miles overtook them in the Cañon de Chelly. Several skirmishes followed in which a number of Indians were killed and several thousand sheep captured. In the latter part of the month Miles again marched against the Navaho, this time advancing eastward from Fort Defiance. Several skirmishes again took place. The Indians were scattered, much of their property was destroyed, and some 6,000 sheep were captured.⁶⁵

Major Electus Backus, Third Infantry, led a third campaign against this tribe. With two companies of Mounted Rifles, four companies of infantry, fifty-five spies and guides under Captain Valdez and some twenty friendly Utah Indians, Backus set out for Cañon de Chelly on October 19. This imposing army was thirty days on the march and penetrated more than 340 miles of the enemy's country. Despite this elaborate show of force, the Backus expedition succeeded in killing only a few Indians and capturing several hundred goats and sheep.⁶⁶

The Navaho, however, had been hard pressed and sued for peace. On December 25, 1858 Superintendent of Indian Affairs Collins and Colonel Bonneville met the Navaho chiefs in council at Fort Defiance and negotiated a treaty. The agreement provided for the indemnification in live stock for all depredations committed since the preceding August, the liberation of captives, and the fixing of boundaries,⁶⁷ beyond which the Indians were not to pass. In the future the entire tribe was to be held responsible for depredations committed by its members. The federal government was to have freedom of passage through the Navaho country and the privilege of establishing military posts.⁶⁸ As usual

65. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, pp. 25, 309-313, 324-326.

66. Electus Backus to Bonneville, November 19, 1858. MS., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

67. Article one of this treaty fixed the boundaries in great detail. Bonneville to L. Thomas (enclosing treaty) January 9, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

68. *Ibid.*

the Indians failed to comply with the conditions of the treaty; the federal government failed to ratify.⁶⁹

In the same year the Department of the West⁷⁰ was reduced by the transfer of troops to other points on the frontier. The Department of New Mexico also suffered. Because of the Mormon trouble, mounted forces were sent to Utah. Two mounted companies at Fort Buchanan had been ordered to Camp Loring near the Red river to avenge the breaking up of a white settlement by the Comanche.⁷¹ Requests for more adequate defense again appeared. In Doña Ana county some 600 citizens petitioned General Garland for additional mounted troops in the Mesilla valley. Garland, accordingly, recommended the establishment of a military post near Albuquerque with a garrison of four companies. The new post was to protect the mail route between Neosho, Missouri, and Albuquerque and to defend the frontier settlements east of the Pecos.⁷²

In order to prevent Indians from returning from Mexico with stolen booty, George Bailey, special Indian agent visiting the department, recommended the erection of posts in the vicinity of Tucson, on the San Pedro, in the neighborhood of the Los Mimbres, and on the Gila near the Pima Villages.⁷³ Despite insistent demands and recommendations, only one new military post appeared in 1858, and this was a substitute for the abandoned Fort Massachusetts. Situated on Utah Creek in the Utah country, about

69. Governor Rencher, the Indian agents, and the people of the territory, knowing the Navaho character, considered the treaty a mistake. Subsequent punitive expeditions were necessary before the Navaho were overawed. Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 315-316.

70. On January 1, 1858 the United States was divided into seven military departments: Departments of the East, Florida, West, Texas, New Mexico, Utah, and Pacific. The Western Department comprised the country west of the Mississippi River and east of the Rocky Mountains except portions of the Departments of Texas and New Mexico north of 33° north latitude. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War (April 27, 1861) the country comprised the following military commands: Departments of Annapolis, East, Pennsylvania, Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Pacific, Washington, and the West. Thian, *opus cit.*, 8-9, 105.

71. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 293, pt. 3, p. 778.

72. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, pp. 291-293, 297-298.

73. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 559.

six miles south of the abandoned post, Fort Garland commanded the mouth of the cañons of the Rio de los Yutos and the Rio del Sangre de Cristo. Like its predecessor, the new post was to serve as a protection against Apache and Utah.⁷⁴

The Indian situation in the department in 1859 was somewhat complicated. Commissioner of Indian Affairs A. B. Greenwood reported conditions gradually improving.⁷⁵ Reports of military officers, however, presented a different view. Almost immediately after Bonneville's treaty of 1858⁷⁶ the New Mexico Indians again became restless. The regular offenders, including Mohave, Papago, Apache, and Navaho renewed their attacks on the white man. Punitive expeditions followed.

In January, 1859, a band of Mohave attacked the camp of Lieutenant-Colonel William Hoffman at Beaver Lake in the vicinity of the Colorado river near the 35th parallel.⁷⁷ The Indians were repulsed. In the following March Hoffman led more than 700 men from Fort Yuma⁷⁸ to Beale's Crossing and established Fort Mojave.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, a command of dragoons was marching northeastward from San Bernardino to the new post. This show of military strength overawed the Mohave. A number of chiefs, accompanied by some 400 of the tribe, appeared before Hoffman on April 23 and sued for peace. They accepted all the conditions imposed upon them. They agreed to the establish-

74. *Ibid.*, pt. 3, p. 778.

75. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, I, 383, 393.

76. Cf., pp. 13-14 and footnote 69.

77. Hoffman, with a command of some fifty dragoons, had come from Martin's Ranch near Cajón Pass to reconnoiter for a military post. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 387-395, 401; Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861* (R. P. Bieber, ed., Glendale, California, 1932), 251.

78. See Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 15, footnote 42.

79. Fort Mojave was situated on the left bank of the Colorado river, near the present Mohave City, Arizona. Hoffman at first called the post "Camp Colorado." In the latter part of April when he withdrew his command from the Mohave country, Major Lewis A. Armistead was left with two companies of Sixth Infantry and a detachment of Third Artillery. By May 1, 1859, Armistead had renamed the post "Fort Mojave." It was abandoned on May 28, 1861 but was reoccupied on May 19, 1863. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 416-417; *Ibid.*, No. 52, pp. 235-236; Bandel, *opus cit.*, 277.

ment of posts and roads through their country, to give hostages for future security, and to surrender the ringleaders of previous attacks.⁸⁰

This show of submission, however, was short lived. The following July, a band of Mohave ran off the herd of mules belonging to the mail party stationed several miles below Fort Mohave and the men were driven into the post. Several days later a force of about 150 Indians fired on the post patrols. Early in August Brevet Major L. A. Armistead led two companies of infantry and surprised the Indians some twelve miles below the fort. The Indians were severely defeated, losing some twenty warriors. They again sued for peace.⁸¹

In February of the same year Lieutenant R. S. C. Lord, Second Infantry, with a detachment of twenty-five men, set out from Fort Buchanan in pursuit of a band of Papago. This band had stolen horses from an American ranchman near the post and had gone to Santa Cruz, Mexico. The Indians were found and hostages were taken to Fort Buchanan.⁸²

Various bands of Apache continued their depredations and federal troops attempted to break their spirit. On February 5 an engagement took place between a detachment from Fort Bliss and northern Apache. Lieutenant Henry M. Lazelle, Eighth Infantry, with thirty men encountered the Indians on the San Diego mail route, about seventy-five miles northwest of El Paso. Although outnumbered about three to one, the command managed to drive off the Indians by whom they had been surrounded in the gorge of Dog Cañon. Lazelle was wounded in this action.⁸³ When Indian Agent Steck reported that the Apache had left the Mogollon and Burro mountains, Bonneville ordered a company of Mounted Rifles, under Lieutenant G. W. How-

80. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 391-411; Bandel, *opus cit.*, 272.

81. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 419-420; *San Francisco Herald*, August 21, September 14, 1859.

82. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 292-293.

83. *Ibid.*, 287-291.

land together with 100 men under Major W. H. Gordon to locate the troops at a point southeast of the Burro mountains, and thus protect the vicinity of the overland mail station.⁸⁴ In August Bonneville reported that eighty head of stock belonging to the Sonora Mining and Exploring Company had been stolen by Chiricahua Apache. A detachment from Fort Buchanan immediately set out in pursuit and about sixty of the stolen herd were recovered.⁸⁵

Lieutenant-Colonel I. V. D. Reeve led an expedition against the Pinal Apache. With 171 men and five officers—dragoons and Mounted Rifles—Reeve left his camp on the San Pedro on November 12. After an eight days' scout in the direction of the Mescal mountains, covering a distance of about 140 miles, he finally abandoned the chase.⁸⁶ During the same period two ineffective encounters took place with the Pinal Apache and Kiowa bands that had attacked the mail train at Colorado Springs bound for Fort Union.⁸⁷

The Navaho, too, caused trouble. Not only did they break their former pledges but were guilty of new depredations. On September 25 Indian Agent Silaz F. Kendrick held a council with the Navaho at Laguna Negra near Fort Defiance and pointed to the violation of the previous treaty. They had failed to pay pledged indemnities; a number of the tribe were committing depredations along the Rio Grande. The Indians were given an extension of thirty days to bring in more horses, sheep, and other property. Although they disclaimed responsibility, they, nevertheless, promised to comply with these demands.⁸⁸ As these promises were not kept, Brevet Major Oliver L. Shepherd conducted an elaborate campaign against the Tunicha Navaho. With a command of more than 270 men—Third Infantry

84. Bonneville to Thomas, July 15, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

85. *Ibid.* to *Ibid.*, August 6, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

86. I. V. D. Reeve to J. D. Wilkins, November 27, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

87. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 69, pp. 13-26.

88. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 341-345.

and Mounted Riflemen—Shepherd left Fort Defiance on November 1. The imposing army was twelve days on the march and covered about 180 miles. This arduous campaign, however, accomplished nothing.⁸⁹ Upon Shepherd's return, a band of Tunicha Navaho defied the troops by stealing the flock of public sheep from Fort Defiance. A punitive expedition of some 140 men under Lieutenant W. D. Whipple was at once organized. The Indians were pursued to the Tunicha mountains, but only part of the stock was recovered and with slight damage to the Indians.⁹⁰

To obtain more accurate information about the strength of the Navaho and the character of their country, military units reconnoitered different portions of the territory. In July Major Shepherd led three companies of infantry and two of Mounted Rifles west and southwest of Fort Defiance. The 265 miles trip in the direction of the Moqui villages and beyond was across a "section of country never before known or attempted."⁹¹ The Indians appeared friendly.

At the same time Captain John G. Walker, Mounted Rifles, led a party of men from Camp La Joya near Fort Defiance to Cañon de Chelly, to explore the reputedly impregnable stronghold of the Navaho and to instill fear into the Indians. Walker spent two days in the mysterious chasm. His reconnaissance substantiated Simpson's findings⁹² and exploded the current notion that the cañon could afford a refuge for the Indians with their numerous flocks and herds in a protracted war with the United States. Walker next moved northward as far as the Rio San Juan and visited the various bands, whom he found friendly and desirous of peace. His return to Fort Defiance, across the

89. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, II, 199-200.

90. W. D. Whipple to T. T. Fauntleroy, November 19, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

91. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 325-327.

92. See Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 10.

Tunicha mountains, was by a virgin trail, untravelled by troops or exploring parties.⁹³

In August Captain H. B. Schroeder, Third Infantry, examined a portion of the Navaho country while scouting for Indian cattle thieves. With a command of forty-five Mounted Riflemen and fifteen friendly Indians, Schroeder advanced northeast of Fort Defiance as far as Arroyo Tunicha. The cattle thieves were not found but the country was explored.⁹⁴ The following month Major Shepherd and his command reconnoitered for some 300 miles to the southeast of Fort Defiance. His trail led to the northern base of the San Mateo mountains, a great thoroughfare for thefts and robberies.⁹⁵

While troops were scouting to the southeast of Fort Defiance, Captain Walker, with two companies of Third Infantry and two companies of Mounted Rifles, struck out in the opposite direction. La Puerta Limita, the western extremity of the Mesa de La Vaca in the vicinity of the Moqui villages, was the farthest point reached. The region traversed presented a series of broken *mesas*, hills, valleys, and cañons. Except for the extreme eastern border, the Mesa de la Vaca was uninhabited. Walker believed that in a war with the United States the Navaho would avail themselves of the few watering places and conceal themselves in the "labyrinth of hills, valleys and arroyos." Discovering these hiding places would be as difficult as it was to find the Seminoles in the hammocks (everglades) of Florida.⁹⁶

While these explorations⁹⁷ were in progress, Bonneville made an extended tour of military inspection. His itinerary, May 2 to July 3, included the camp of the artesian

93. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 316-323.

94. *Ibid.*, 332-333.

95. *Ibid.*, 351-354.

96. *Ibid.*, 345, 349-350.

97. For explorations in the interest of better roads and military posts in the department in 1859, see Bender, *loc. cit.*, IX, 25-31.

well expedition⁹⁸ at Galisteo, the depot at Albuquerque, Los Lunas, forts Craig, Thorn, Fillmore, Bliss, Stanton, and Buchanan.⁹⁹ Bonneville's report was highly valuable. The road leading to Fort Buchanan he considered good. It was impracticable, however, for the movement of troops, commercial trains, or stock until after the rainy season of July and August. The Santa Cruz river valley Bonneville characterized as a veritable network of mineral veins, consisting mainly of silver mixed with copper and lead. Machinery was operated by mule-power. The tribes west of Tucson he found peacefully inclined and engaged in tilling the soil, while to the east, in the Chiricahua, in the Pinal or White mountains, lived the dreaded Apache. If the Santa Cruz and San Pedro valleys were to be developed, Bonneville suggested that garrisons be placed between the settlements and the Indian country. One post of two companies was to be stationed at the Tucson mountains and another of equal strength on the San Pedro, on the mail route, or a few miles to the north.¹⁰⁰

Between July and September Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph E. Johnston also made a tour of inspection. Johnston's itinerary embraced Albuquerque, Los Lunas, Cantonment Burgwin, and forts Union, Defiance, Craig, Fillmore, Garland, Buchanan, and Bliss.¹⁰¹

The punitive expeditions, explorations, and tours of inspection were followed by a military post reorganization in the department. Fort Thorn was abandoned and its

98. In 1855 congress appropriated \$100,000 for sinking artesian wells. Between 1855 and 1859 Captain John Pope of the Topographical Engineers and a large corps of assistants were engaged in this work. The operations extended over portions of northwest Texas and eastern New Mexico. While the artesian wells experiment was a failure, it, nevertheless, brought to light a great mass of information valuable to the immigrant, the prospector, the scientist and the government. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, p. 38; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 540-541; San Antonio *Ledger*, July 25, 1857; *Austin State Gazette*, May 22, 1858; *Austin Southern Intelligencer*, September 29, 1858.

99. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 299-308.

100. *Ibid.*

101. J. E. Johnston to L. Thomas, October 3, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

property moved to Fort Fillmore. A post was located at the Santa Rita Copper Mines, on the site of Fort Webster which had been abandoned in 1853. The new post was garrisoned by a detachment of Mounted Rifles. The presence of troops at this point, it was believed, would allay difficulties at the mines which had developed between Mexican miners and Indians. A company of the Third Infantry was stationed at Hatch's Ranch, on the Gallinas river, about ten miles northeast of Antor Chico. It was designed as a temporary station, as the troops were to remain there only until the spring of 1860.¹⁰² At the junction of the San Pedro and Arivaipa, Fort Breckenridge was erected and manned with part of the garrison from Fort Buchanan.¹⁰³

Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, First Dragoons, succeeded Bonneville to the command of the department.¹⁰⁴ In an attempt to inject a new spirit into the frontier defense policy in New Mexico, Fauntleroy worked out an elaborate military reorganization program. His plan included no less than twelve proposals. Some involved the abandonment of existing military positions and the creation of new ones; others provided for an intensification program,—the strengthening of military posts.

The first proposal related to Fort Union. This post Fauntleroy desired broken up or moved to a point northeast of its existing position. The new location near the Raton mountains, Fauntleroy believed would render more direct and adequate protection to the mail route from Independence. The new position would also be close to the great Comanche trail and defend a larger area of frontier settle-

102 *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 295, 606-607.

103. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, II, 222-223; Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 497; T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, Arizona, 1915), I, 322.

104. Fauntleroy was in command from October 25, 1859 to March 22, 1861 when he was succeeded by Colonel E. R. S. Canby. Twitchell says that early in 1860 W. W. Loring was sent by Secretary of War Floyd to take command of the department with the object of tampering with the patriotism of the officers of the army and that Loring was succeeded by Canby. Thian, *opus cit.*, 71; Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 360, 428-429.

ments. It was to be garrisoned by one mounted company and one company of infantry.

The next matter of importance was the creation of a new post on the eastern frontier to serve as the great supply depot for the entire department. Fauntleroy recommended such a post on the Canadian near the mouth of Utah Creek. A fort at this point would protect the route from Neosho, Missouri and the line of frontier from the proposed Fort Union as far as Fort Stanton. Three companies of mounted troops and one of infantry were to be stationed here.

Los Lunas, like Fort Union, was to be removed to or near Jemez, at a point in the direction of the Tunicha valley. The new post was to be garrisoned by three companies of infantry. Fort Defiance was also to be abandoned and a post located at Ojo del Oso, about forty miles east on the route to Albuquerque. Three companies of mounted troops and two companies of infantry were to be stationed there. Two other posts were to replace Fort Buchanan, one in or near the valley of Los Mimbres and the other on the San Pedro at the crossing of the overland mail route. A post in the los Mimbres, Fauntleroy maintained, would perform a three-fold function: it would protect that portion of the Rio Grande settlements which had been exposed by the abandonment of Fort Thorn, protect the southern overland mail route and defend the mining districts of the region. A post on the San Pedro would prove advantageous as a depot in the event of operations against the Indians. Each of the new positions was to be defended by one company of mounted men and four of infantry.

The plan also provided for the discontinuance of Fort Bliss, Cantonment Burgwin, and the withdrawal of troops from Santa Fé and Albuquerque. Fort Garland was to be garrisoned by two companies of mounted men from Cantonment Burgwin and its infantry was to be withdrawn. Fort Stanton was to have one mounted and two companies of infantry while one company of cavalry and one of infan-

try were to be stationed at Fort Fillmore. Thus, under the reorganization plan, the twelve existing posts were to be reduced to nine. The mounted troops were to be better and more economically supplied. Fauntleroy's plan was endorsed by General Scott and submitted to the secretary of war, but the coming of the Civil War postponed its adoption.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile army officers had learned that the Mormons were tampering with the Indians. Major J. S. Simonson and Captain J. G. Walker received information from friendly Pah-Utes that the Mormons had invited the Navaho, Utah, and Mohave to a council at Sierra Panoche.¹⁰⁶ At this meeting arms and ammunition were to be distributed among the warriors. The Mormons represented the United States government and its citizens as the natural enemies of all Indians. Unless the red men resisted, their whole country would soon be lost.¹⁰⁷ In December, 1859, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Collins wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Greenwood that the Indians would have to be thoroughly chastised before there would be security on the plains. Collins maintained that they had no respect for the government and would not have until they had been made to feel its power.¹⁰⁸

During 1860 Indian outrages and depredations continued daring and numerous. The Navaho were the chief offenders. In January a band of Indians had driven off several herds of sheep. Mounted troops from Fort Craig gave chase, overtook the rustlers, and recovered some 6,000 of the stolen animals. In the following month the cattle herd of Fort Defiance was attacked by a band of some 500 Navaho. The Indians were repulsed. The Navaho

105. Fauntleroy to S. Cooper, December 6, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

106. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 339-340.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 69, p. 49.

then assumed a bolder attitude. About four o'clock in the morning of April 30, a force of Navaho warriors estimated between 1,000 and 3,000 men, attacked Fort Defiance. The assault lasted about two hours. The garrison of 150 infantry succeeded in driving off the Indians.¹⁰⁹ The *Santa Fé Gazette* attributed the Navaho boldness to the inactivity and want of energy of Colonel Fauntleroy. Governor Rencher expressed the same view.¹¹⁰ Fauntleroy was ordered by Secretary of War Floyd to carry on a vigorous campaign against the Navaho. Floyd believed that a winter campaign, if carried on with secrecy and prosecuted with vigor, would prove the shortest and most effective plan of operation.¹¹¹

As the summer advanced the outrages continued. On July 30, a band of Navaho murdered a number of settlers and seized stock within ten miles of Santa Fé. In September a band of Navaho again attempted to capture the mule herd of Fort Defiance and was again repulsed.¹¹² To put an end to these depredations, it was necessary to move a large part of the troops stationed in Utah southward to New Mexico. In June Fauntleroy reported forty-eight companies—more than 3,000 men—in his department.¹¹³ By September he had fifteen companies of regulars in the Navaho country. Upon Fauntleroy's request, Superintendent Collins had also organized a command of friendly Utah

109. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, II, 3, 52-56, 190-204.

110. *Santa Fé Gazette*, May 22, 1860.

111. John B. Floyd to W. A. Nichols July 14, 1860. Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.; Floyd to Lewis Cass, July 28, 1860. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5522, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

112. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, II, 60, 204.

113. Of this number, twenty-four companies were *en route* from Utah and one company was exploring a route from Green river to Santa Fé. The troops were distributed among the following posts: forts Garland, Union, Defiance, Marcy, Craig, Stanton, Fillmore, Buchanan, Breckenridge, Cantonment Burgwin, Albuquerque, Los Lunas, and camp near Hatch's Ranch. By November, 1860, the force was reduced by the transfer of one company of the Tenth Infantry to the Department of the West and seven companies of Third Infantry to the Department of Texas. *Ibid.*, 222-223.

Indians for this campaign.¹¹⁴ This apparent display of energy did not intimidate the Navaho.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile a spirited quarrel had developed between Governor Rencher and Fauntleroy. The former accused the military commander of a lack of energy and too great leniency in dealing with the Indians; the latter maintained that the civil authority was interfering unduly with the military.¹¹⁶

The territorial legislature also added to the confusion. Influenced by popular demand, in the spring of the year, it passed a law authorizing the organization and conduct of an independent campaign against the Indians. Fauntleroy vigorously opposed this program. When Rencher authorized the formation of two companies of volunteers of 100 men each and armed them, Fauntleroy refused to furnish ammunition.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Fauntleroy declared that in case of a war with the Navaho, if the governor authorized a campaign, he (Fauntleroy) would withdraw the troops from Indian country.¹¹⁸

While Rencher and Fauntleroy were bickering, the citizens of Santa Fé took the law into their own hands. "Urged on by a few ambitious or interested leaders the people called a convention at Santa Fé on August 27 and took up the matter of frontier defense. They appointed officers and agreed to raise a regiment of mounted volunteers, to enter the Navaho country by September 20." This

114. Nine of the fifteen companies consisted of infantry and were, therefore, of no value. *Ibid.*, 3, 63, 190.

115. James L. Collins to A. B. Greenwood, November 26, 1860. Ms., L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

116. Abraham R. Rencher to Lewis Cass, May 15, 1860. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5520, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

117. A volunteer force, however, soon took the field. Under the leadership of Miguel E. Pino and Manuel Chaves a force of about 400 men invaded the Navaho country, drove off considerable stock, and slaughtered a great many cattle and sheep for subsistence. When their ammunition gave out, the volunteers returned to the settlements. Item in *Santa Fé Gazette*, August 22, 1860, in Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5523, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.; Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 320-321.

118. Fauntleroy to Cass, May 7, 1860, May 15, 1860. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5520, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

was done in defiance of civil and military authorities. Governor Rencher attempted to resist the movement and Secretary of State Cass sustained him.¹¹⁹

In defiance of constituted authority, an unauthorized volunteer company of about 300 mounted men, probably led by M. L. Cotton, penetrated the heart of the Navaho country, took possession of their fields, captured a large amount of stock, and led away about 100 captives,—chiefly women and children. Some Pueblo Indians also took part in this venture and brought back some 5,000 sheep and horses as their portion of the spoils. A Mr. Phifer, sub-agent for the Utah, also led an expedition into the Navaho country. He, too, captured a large amount of stock and took some Indian captives.¹²⁰ Rencher believed that a few interested speculators backed by some federal officers including Superintendent of Indian Affairs Collins, were responsible for the unauthorized military ventures.¹²¹ In the winter of 1860-1861 the unauthorized expeditions were followed by an active campaign under Colonel E. R. S. Canby, culminating in a three months' truce, later extended to twelve. In July the troops were withdrawn. The Navaho, however, continued hostile.¹²²

On the eve of the Civil War the problem of frontier defense in the Department of New Mexico had been solved but partially. A chain of military posts had been established in the Indian country, along the Rio Grande, the southern border, and the Rio Colorado, but this line of defense did not prove adequate for the protection of the infant settlements. Generally, the forts were poorly gar-

119. Rencher to Cass, September 4, 1860, Cass to Rencher, October 1, 1860. Ms., T. P., Parker, Numbers 5525, 5529, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

120. Rencher to Cass, November 10, 1860, Rencher to J. S. Black, February 16, 1861. Ms., T. P., Parker, Numbers 5527, 5543, A. D., D. S.

121. Copy of *Santa Fé Gazette*, November 24, 1860, in Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5529, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.; Rencher to Cass, January 10, 1861. Ms., T. P., Parker, Number 5537, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

122. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, pp. 8-10; Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 655-656; Rencher to Cass, January 10, 1861, Rencher to W. H. Seward, April 14, 1861. Ms., T. P., Parker, Numbers 5537, 5547, B. R. L., A. D., D. S.

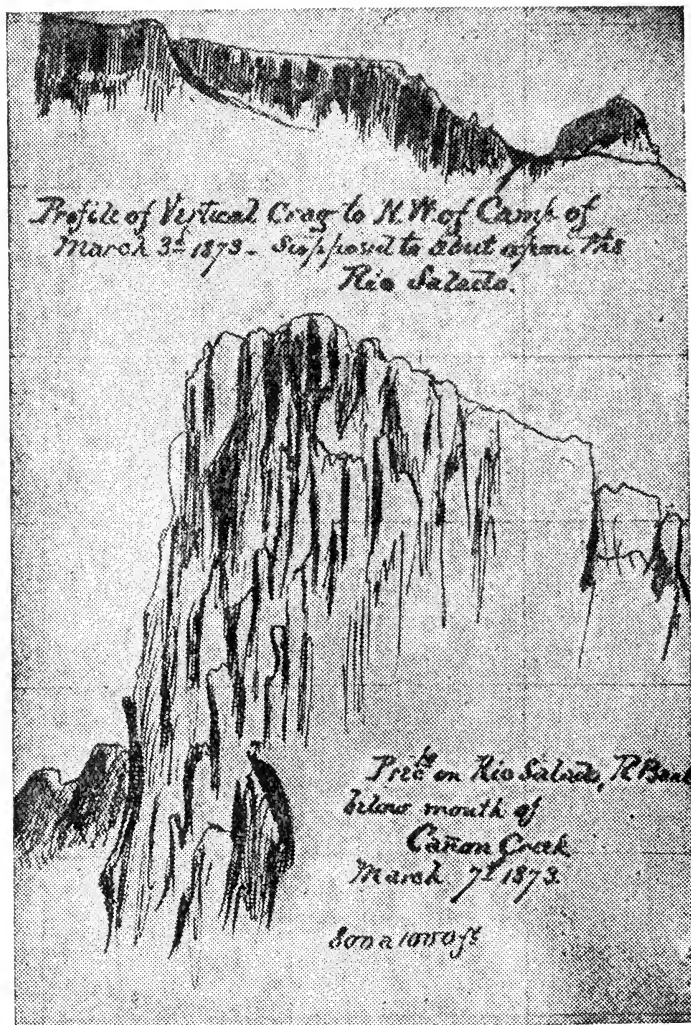
risoned; most of the troops were infantry and proved useless in the pursuit of Indians. The small cavalry force, though ably commanded, was generally too small to conduct a decisive campaign against the Indians who betook themselves to the mountains.¹²³ The civil officers, too, appear to have been honest and capable men. Their actions, however, were hampered in many ways: a rapid succession of Indian agents,¹²⁴ lack of means, conflicting or insufficient instructions, disagreements with the military authorities, and above all, the absence of a clear-cut policy, made success well nigh impossible.¹²⁵

The defense program of the federal government, however, had not been altogether valueless. An important object had been attained; the white man had added materially to his knowledge about the Southwest Indian and his country. As the troops scoured the plains and penetrated the mountain fastnesses in search of plunderers, they learned about the contour of the land, the trails, the water courses, and the springs. In short, they acquired that knowledge of the habits and customs of the red man which finally led to his conquest.

123. Mowry, *opus cit.*, 55-56; Collins to Greenwood, September 16, 1860. Ms., L. R., C. I. A., I. O., D. I.

124. Twitchell, *opus cit.*, II, 300, footnote 223.

125. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, II, 313-314; R. P. Bieber, "Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-1854," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, III, 188-189; Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and their Administration With Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860* (Philadelphia, 1932), 172, 238.



A CAMPAIGN SKETCH
(from Field Notes, Nov. 1872-April 1873)

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, V

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL APACHE CAMPAIGN

SHORTLY after Bourke reported at Prescott with the recruits whom he had brought from San Francisco, vigorous aggressive operations against the hostile Apaches were begun by troops which took the trail from a number of the army posts simultaneously. It was, as Bourke recorded at its close, "the first and only successful campaign made against the Apaches since the acquisition of the Gadsden Purchase." There was to be serious trouble later, but with comparatively small bands of renegades. For the great mass of the Apache people, this campaign was the conclusive and convincing demonstration of the police power of the United States Army.

As we have already seen,¹ General George Crook was placed in command of the military department of Arizona in June 1871, but within two months he was ordered to suspend military operations while Vincent Colyer tried to apply the "peace policy," followed by the wiser but ineffective efforts made during 1872 by General O. O. Howard. When the people in the East finally realized that killings and depredations were continuing unabated by these peace measures, Crook was at last released against the renegades with orders to round them all up and see that they stayed on the reservations. The result was a concerted campaign which went on month after month, harrying the renegades relentlessly through the fastnesses which they had regarded as impregnable, until the survivors were only too glad to sue for peace under the terms laid down by General Crook.

During this campaign Bourke was one of Crook's three aides-de-camp, and he also served as field adjutant. He was

1. See pages 162, 168, *ante*.

almost continuously with the command operating under Capt. William H. Brown which did the brunt of the work; and he knew what the other commands were doing. His field-notes, therefore, constitute probably the most important record that we have of this campaign, especially when they are read in the light of Bourke's own use of them in his account of "General Crook in the Indian Country," published in 1891.²

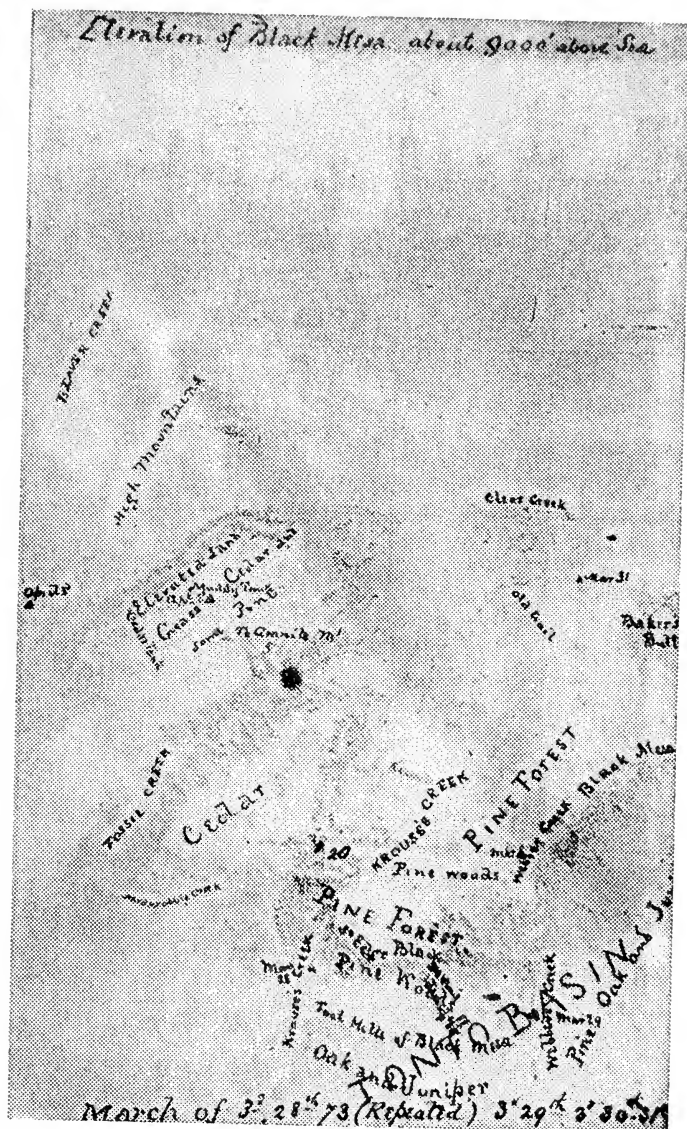
The vacillating policy of the Government towards the Apaches hampered and delayed Crook's operations for more than twelve months. During the interval he traveled on mule-back over hundreds of miles of the roughest mountains in his new department, and familiarized himself with its topographical features in a manner that could never be learned from maps; he visited the various reservations and made the personal acquaintance of many of the chiefs and head-men upon whose assistance he would have to count when the hour of struggle came. . . .

All arrangements for the new campaign had been perfected by the ninth day of December, 1872, when the word was given for the different columns to converge upon the "Tonto Basin," the stronghold of the worst elements of the tribe. These were known as the Tonto Apaches and the Apache-Mojaves. . . .

The "Tonto Basin" is a misnomer, unless we recognize it as an example of gentle frontier satire. It is the seat of the warfare of the Titans, and Ossa has here been upon Pelion piled until the eye grows weary trying to count the wrinkles in Dame Nature's bosom. Yet rough as the "Basin" itself is, the loftier mountains inclosing it are rougher, and each of these—the Mogollon, the Mazatzal, and the Sierra Ancha—are thickly matted with timber and white with deep snow during the winter months. The "Basin" is well watered, and has an abundance of acorn-bearing oak, Spanish bayonet, mescal, and other foods dear to the savage palate.

Crook himself took station at old Camp Grant, which enjoyed the distinction of being the meanest, dirtiest, and most squalid post in the United States, and that was saying

2. *Century Magazine* (March, 1891), xli, 643-660. With the kind permission of D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, several excerpts of this article are here used to supplement the campaign record.



BOURKE SKETCH OF THE TONTO BASIN

a great deal. (It has long since been broken up and the garrison established in a more salubrious position at the foot of Mount Graham.³) As nearly as possible on the same date the different columns were set in motion, each with a liberal number of Indian guides, Pi-Utes, Hualpais, Apaches, Pimas, Maricopas, and Yumas.

Major Thomas MacGregor, 1st Cavalry, was in charge of affairs at Prescott;

Colonel J. W. Mason, 5th Cavalry, at Camp Verde;

Major George M. Randall, 23rd Infantry, at Camp Apache;

Captain Thomas Byrne, 12th Infantry, at Beale's Springs;

Major George F. Price, 5th Cavalry, at Date Creek;

Majors James Burns and John M. Hamilton, 5th Cavalry, of all the troops moving out from Camp McDowell; and

Major William H. Brown, 5th Cavalry, of those leaving Camp Grant.

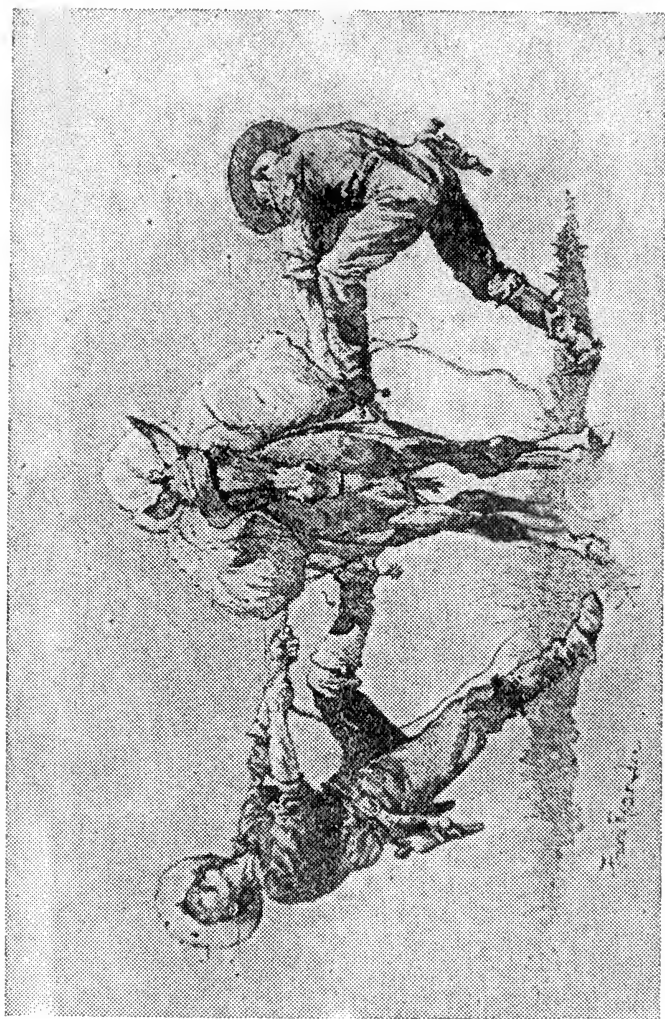
According to Bourke, the success of Crook as a commander lay in three things: his handling of his men, the use of Indian scouts, and his development of the pack-train.

A subordinate was never asked by Crook to go anywhere, but was shown the way and made to follow. Baggage was cut down to the lowest notch; officers wore the same style of canvas clothing as the men, ate their meals with the pack-trains, and were allowed all the baggage they could carry on their own backs, or in the exceedingly limited supply of bedding each could send to the pack-train attached to the command. . . .

Unless the fullest use were made of scouts . . . unless savage should be pitted against savage, the white man would be outwitted, exhausted, circumvented, possibly ambuscaded and destroyed. . . . The scouts were on foot and so were the cavalry, because the "epizoötic" during that winter swept over the country and dismounted them. . . .⁴

3. The new post was established this winter, partly at least with the object of watching Cochise and his Chiricahuas. See below, diary notes of Dec. 10, January 19, 24.

4. In the field-notes there is no mention of this serious epidemic as affecting the government herd until under date of March 11, when it was reported to have appeared at Prescott.



THE PATIENT PACK-MULE
(a Frederic Remington drawing)

Century Magazine, March 1891

Every pack-train in our army today [1891] has grown from a nucleus arranged by General Crook. . . [he] knew every packer by name, what his peculiarities were and how he cared for his animals, and besides knew every mule in the outfit.

. . . I was attached to Brown's column which swept through the Mescal, Pinal, Superstition, Sierra Ancha, and Mazatzal ranges, and afterward the southern end of the Bradshaw and the southern and western extremity of the great Mogollon plateau. The different detachments crossed and recrossed each other's trails, frequently meeting and always being within supporting distance of one another. The Apaches were unable to reassemble in rear of any passing column, as had so uniformly been done on previous occasions, and had to keep an eye open for danger from all points of the compass in darkness as well as in daylight. In this extremity they concentrated in their strongholds, the most impregnable being the cave in the cañon of Salt River; the summit of Turret Butte; and the cliffs of the Superstition Mountains.

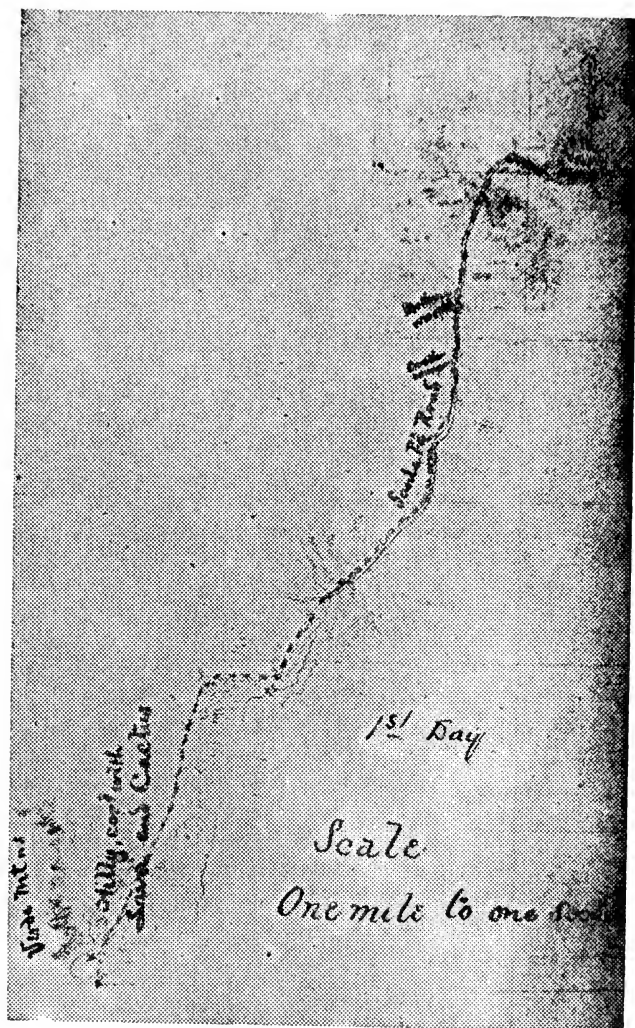
As we begin the diary record, it will be noted that the first entries, from November 18 to December 8, describe a preliminary scout and not the general, concerted campaign which was being planned for.

Field Notes, Scouts in Arizona Territory. B'v't Maj. Gen'l George Crook, commanding. From Nov. 18, 1872, to April 8, 1873.

John G. Bourke, 2nd Lieut., 3rd Cav., A. D. C.

Nov. 20, 1872. Left Verde, 9 a.m.—Crossed river and passed N. about 5½ miles in a general N. and Nx E [N by E] direction, climbed a mesa and halted for pack-train. Ground lava, vegetation Cactus and Palo Verde.

Still N x E for 3 m., keeping in a very hilly country—Rio Verde to L., Beaver C[reek] to R. The perpendicular distance between these two streams cannot be much over 6 m., but very high and rough hills intervene. Red Rock country dead ahead. Passed N. 1 mile, E 3 m. to Beaver Cr. Camped W. W. and G. [wood, water, and grass]. Beaver Cr. here flows nearly E. and W., making a small bend from its



FIRST DAY'S MARCH

general N & S course. Had a first class supper of wild-duck, antelope steak & fresh fish. 11½ m.

Thursday, Nov. 21st, 1872. Left *Beaver Cr.* N.E. along the Creek 4 m. until we joined the New Mexico R^d. at the cross'g—then N x E for 15 m. passing through a juniper country and up grade all day—passed over an open grass country about 1 m., then rather more E for 2 miles, up grade and in pine woods. Camped at *Stoneman's lake*, N. L[eft] side of R^d. Met broken down wagons from Santa Fé, 6 m. W by S from this camp. Wood, Water and grass. 22 m./[total] 33½ m.

Friday, Nov. 22nd, 1872. Broke camp at sun-up. Marched N. E., up grade, for 10 m., then E. for 3 miles. About 2½ m. from camp, road crossed a little spring. Stopped at Saute Sp[ring]s for the train to close up. Moved E. for 6 m. and E x S for 3 m. Stopped at Jones Camp. Tanks on L. of Road. 21 or 22 miles.

Country all day was grazing land—very elevated—with some pine and occasionally a little white poplar. Indians signals seen all day to South. About 8 m. from Camp of 21st. there is a spring on R. of road, about 300 or 400 yds. from it; in a copse of cottonwood. Gen^l Crook says this spring has an abundance of good cold water. Camp of this night [22nd] had plenty of wood and grass, but no water for the animals, the tank being frozen. Water for cooking was obtained by melting ice. Ground all day was a lava soil. General Crook shot a fine, fat goose this morning.

Saturday, Nov. 23^d. Camp aroused at 3 A. M. Made coffee, breakfasted and started about one hour before dawn—Moved S one mile SE one mile SExE half mile E half mile NW half mile then around corner of big mesa (about 500 yds long) and a general NE and NExE course for about 18 miles, passing between two large mesas with timbered sides (juniper) and perpendicular crests, halted and made camp—Water in tank in deep arroyo on Right. Ice six and eight inches thick. Arroyo is a feeder of the *Colorado Chiquito*. *San Francisco Mt.* on our L and Rear all day, about 60 m distant. Ground all day has been gravelly and sandy. Ant-hills along roads have been disturbed by diamond hunters. Indian signs plenty and fresh. Wood, Water and Grass plenty. Country generally open along trail, with good grass. Plenty of woods, juniper all day. About one and half miles

from this camp, on L hand side of the road there is a dry tank, which evidently has plenty of water in rainy season.

Distance marched	25 miles
(on Morrow's sketch)	18 miles

Sunday Nov 24th 1872. Broke camp one hour before Sun-up—Marched N.E, across an elevated table-land, well grassed for 7 miles*—passed between (2) two low mesas of shale: ground now became less fertile, grass and wood more and more scanty until we reached the *Colorado Chiquito* 18 miles; after crossing, we turned E, marched 5 m, and camped. Wood, drift cottonwood plenty: water, from river good, but full of sediment. Grass poor. Saw no game to-day, and no fresh Indian signs. Saw the country of the Moquis to the N and N.N.W.

Distance to-day	25 miles
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Monday, Nov 25th Broke camp at daylight—E S E for 22 miles keeping in sight of river all day—river very sinuous in its course—about 19 m. from camp passed a ruined house on river bank, passed between (2) two sandstone buttes, turned E, went (3) three miles, along river, crossed it and camped. Wood and water plenty and good—grass fair. Saw no game & no signs of Indians.

Total distance about	25 @ 26 miles
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Note—There is a drywash on this road about 3 [miles] from to-days Camp.

Tuesday Nov 26th 1872. Broke camp at daylight—Weather extremely cold—Moved in a general Southerly direction all day to *Chevelon's Fork* (?) * about 3 m. out from *Col° Chiq°*. passed between 2 sandstone buttes—country barren about 15 m., passed between 2 other buttes. country now became more hilly, covered with Juniper— road sandy and from time to time rocky—road sinuous. about 30 m from *Col. Chiquito* struck the *Chevelon's Fork* (?) and camped—Water plenty, grass and wood scarce. *Chevelon's Fork* here flows from S.S.W. to N.N.E.

Total march of the day	30 m.
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Wednesday Nov 27th, 1872. Broke camp before daylight—Weather very cold. Last night was the coldest, by far, since leaving *Prescott*. Breakfasted on wild duck shot last evening—Moved S.E. 7 miles, passed what is known as *Stone-*

*Water on R hand in tanks, about one mile from road. [J.G.B.]

*Silver Creek. [J.G.B.]

man's Camp—no water—Moved S.E. 5 miles struck the lower end of the stream flowing from *Silver Sp*—This water pours into *Shevelon's Fork*—Still S.E. 3 m. further to *Silver Sp.*, where we camped. Grass on adjacent hills, plenty of wood (cedar or juniper) in vicinity and the water good—This is one of largest springs I have ever seen in Arizona. Road to-day sandy in places. First 3 m. out from Camp had *Shevelon's Fork* on our L—crossed it just after leaving camp. Saw flocks of ducks on left—Weather moderated about midday.

Total distance

15 miles

Gen Crook killed (38) thirty eight wild ducks and L^t Ross and M^r McCoy killed a black-tailed deer which dressed about 175 to 200 lbs—

Weather moderated—This night was not very cold.

Thursday, Nov 28th, 1872. Camp aroused at 3½ A. M. Had coffee and a fine breakfast of juicy venison, wild duck, ham &c. &c. Marched at 6.30—about half an hour before sunrise—Moved E.S.E. and S.E. all day going up grade till about 11 A M—Country getting very hilly—ground of a basaltic formation, but covered with rich grasses—Entered dense pine forest and commenced going down grade—Came to forks of *New Mexico Road*—Saw camp-fire still burning and fresh wagon tracks [at] 22 miles—Kept up same general direction, going down grade—found no water at the Spring indicated in *Morrow's Map*—About 33 m, found water in a Spring on left of road—Camped—Wood in abundance (pine forest) Water plenty and good—Grass d[itt]o.

Total distance

33 m

Marched 8 hours and over, at 4 m. per hour.

An excellent spring at Forks of Road

Weather very fine—clear sky

The vicinity of this camp is very mountainous—Gen^l C. reported finding a number of springs to the East and L^{ieut} Ross found some to West of Camp—Name of camp is *Pleasant Grove*.

Friday—Moved in a general ESE and SW. direction to *Camp Apache*, 23 m—found water about 3 or 4 m out—frozen—about 5 m from *Apache* crossed one fork of *Rio Sierra Blanca*, passed over divide, crossed the other fork of same river and entered post near the Brewery—Came through a pass in the *Mogollon Range* about 6 m. from Camp 23 m

Saturday, Nov 30th. Rem^d at *Apache*. Men employed refixing aparejos etc.

Sunday, Dec. 1st, D° D° Camp *Apache* is probably one of the most beautiful sites in the U. S.—The post is at present ably commanded by Captain Randall 23 U. S. Infantry.

Monday, Dec 2. Remained at Post.

Tuesday, Dec 3^d.—Left Post, going S x [by] a little W, passed High Mesa on our R—just after leaving Post—High hills on L—Hills break away in potreros—crossed S^a B. River about 1½ m. from Camp. *Kelly's Peak* about due W. from *Apache*—Turned W. and went up on top of divide—trail rocky—spring to R—on top of trail met (2) two Indians from *Grant* with letters for *Apache*—Marched S.S.W., over a grassy mesa land—Conical peak in front—Before going on the mesa had river on our R. for about one mile—went about 10 miles from *Apache* and then commenced the descent to the *Rio Prieto*—trail very rough, filled with lava boulders—Camped on L. bank of river—W. W and G—The river flows with a very rapid current. water pure and clear—oak and pine trees on bank—Rapids in river just below Camp.

Distance

12-14

Genl C. shot a shell drake.

Wednesday, Dec 4th Broke camp at sun-up Went SWxW for 500 yds, then turned to ascend hill—Wound our way up a very bad and rocky trail to summit—Mesa cov^d with coarse grass and timber—Saw little stream on our R. emptying into *Rio Prieto*, below our camp—Went over mesa about 6 m and then commenced to descend—Went down about 2 m—crossed over dry bed of a stream, probably head of *E f[or]k San Carlos*—passed on down grade—struck a cañon coming from N. E. to S.W. with water—Saw a spring in the solid rock on Left of trail. Country filled with Lava blocks—Timber principally oak and juniper—Some pine—Saw a bear on High Hill to L—About 8 m. Moved down this cañon to S. High hills on R & L. Cañon filled with scrub oak and juniper—passed an old mescal pit 3 miles Kept down cañon still going S. for 5 miles. River now commences to run water—Saw place where there must be a spring on Moun^t side to L—Saw where little streams come in on R&L—passed all this time through oak grove—trail became very rocky & difficult—Emerged from Cañon, saw P^a [*Peak*] S.

Carlos dead ahead—*M^t Trumbull* and *Green's P^k* beyond—*Pinal Mts* to S.W. *Apache Mas* to W—*S^a S^a. Catalina W.S.* W.—*M^t. Graham* E.S.E.—Turned S. W. and went over rough lava mesa—The plateau was now badly broken by cañons and trail wound more to S.—Went S.W. about 5 m—came to a cañon, with lava sides & bed, Very bad—water at bottom. Also passed tank about 1 m from last place. 5 m—Passed down into cañon; trail very rough one of the worst I have ever seen—after much labor reached the bottom—Found two cañons—one from N.E., with plenty of water—one from N. with a small amount, after junction, water flows S W—This is a very large stream and is probably the main *E. Fork of San Carlos* and, if so, maps are all wrong—Sides of cañons, nearly vertical and precipices of basalt on all sides. Turned back on our trail and went N. E. for about 5 m. until we struck a small creek tributary of *San Carlos*, coming from E—same one we left at noon, main branch—crossed creek and turned W, went along creek for about 3 miles, crossed, turned S W., climbed a high mesa, crossed over and found stream coming from N W, made by spring in rocks, turned S, passed along this stream about a mile turned E, climbed high hills and commenced descent on other side. Trail very steep and rocky, going N. E. about 2 m—came into valley of *San Carlos* on L of high butte, turned and came down river about 5 m above the junction of E. and W forks and made a dry camp, no supper

Total distance about

60 miles

Thursday Dec 5th Marched to camp on *Gila* about five (5) miles below junction of *San Carlos* to which camp we marched this morning. Plenty of cottonwoods, water from river and good grass on mesa.

10 miles

Friday Dec 6. 73 Moved from camp about daybreak due West (500) five hundred yards to small range which we crossed, turning S and passing arroyo and going S E, passing along the arroyo ("*Ventana*") about 5 m., crossed high and rocky divide turning somewhat our course to S—Entered *Cañon Gabilaxu* [*Galibau*] S E about 3 m found no water but saw plenty of cottonwood—*Green's Peak* ahead and to E S E—Saw large mountain on R and large flat-topped peak in front—Turned to R crossing of this *Mtⁿ*, passing on L hand cañon flowing into cañon *Galibau*, and kept along range div[iding] waters of *Galibau* from those *San Carlos*. Saw a big mesa in front. Crossed water of

Deer Ck, here flowing W by little N., turned S—and going S by E—reached Camp, about 18 m. Tanks in Rocks—Wood (cedar) scarce [;] Water, sufficient—Grass, plenty but coarse, Camp very poor—Day cold & windy. Lost (2) horses this morning. 18 miles

Sat^d Dec 7th Left Camp 7.30 am. Rained very badly—Wind cold N. E.—Marched SxE about 4 m, getting to top of mesa—country very rough—turned S. and S. S. W. for 5 m—going across water flowing S—passed down steep hill to *Aravaypa Cañon*—turned WxN (2 pts) to [Camp] *Grant* 11 miles, down Cañon—;----20 miles—*Aravaypa* runs dry within 3 miles of post—Took up our qrs. at Maj. Royal's house—Found that 112 Bucks were reported present at Grant. Found *Maj. Brown*. Rained all night. 20 miles
Dec 8th () Remained at *Grant*.

Monday Dec 9th Remained at *Grant*. Conference with Indians and Genl Crook explains his policy—Es-Kim-in-zin promised to aid in the extermination of hostile Apaches. (31) *Apaches* enlisted as Scouts—The rest of the day occupied in providing them with clothing, arms, &c &c.

Tuesday Dec 10th Enlisted (10) ten more *Indian Scouts*. Padre Antonio arrived from *Tucson*, with news of general interest—*Cochies Band* in *Dragon [Dragoon] Mts*. An Escaped captive reports that *Cochis* intends to break out in early spring—*Capt Leib* preparing to move out to *M^t Graham* to build new post.

Wednesday, Dec 11th Genl C. rem^d at *Camp Grant*, but an expedition under command of *Maj Brown*, Insp^t Genl, left *Grant*—consisting of (31) *Indian Scouts*, under com^d of the Indian Chief *Bocon/Co*. "L" 5th Cav—*Capt Taylor/Co* "M" 5th Cav—Lieut Almy/Lt Ross ADC & LT Bourke accompanied exped.—Pack train of 60 mules under charge of Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Hewett./ Guides Archie MacIntosh, Antonio, Joe Felmer and José Maria—(the latter did not join.) Mr. Daly came along as a volunteer bacon chawer. Left camp at 4 P. M. travelled along *San Pedro N. N. W.* for about 4 m—Halted and camped—Sent back for more ammⁿ—Have now 4800 Rds. [rounds] of extra cartridges—Genl Crook has now an expedⁿ out from *Hualpai* of 3 Cos. 5th Cav, under B^t Col Mason—one from *Verde*, under Carr of the 1st, of 2 Cos. 5th and 1 of 1st—one from *Apache*, under Randall 23 Inf, of 2 of 1st Cav. and one of 23^d Inf. and the

present one—Each Command is amply equipped and provided with from 30 to 100 Indian guides—The common objective point is the "*Tonto basin*," arriving in which country the Comd's are so arranged as to divide and scatter in all directions.

I am afraid we shall miss much of the fun as the other Comd's being in the field earlier than we, may have all the work to themselves—If we clean out the *Tontos* this winter we shall give *Cocheis* hell in the spring.

One of the Indians got sick during the night and was sent back to *Grant*.

Mem—We haven't enough Surgeons in *Arizona*—There should be one for each Scouting Command in the Field.

Thursday, Dec 12th Broke camp about 8 A. M., Moved N. W.—along *San Pedro* 2 m. then N & N. N. E. towards the *Saddle Mt.*" went about 1 or 2 more . . . 4 m.

Country passed—alluvial soil—Heavy dew last night—Weather today clear and mild—Kept on North for about 4 m—leaving the *San Pedro* (flowing NW) to L—Kept on North for about 4 m—leaving the *San Padro* (flowing NW) to L—trail going over hills—Came to an arroyo—Indians scraped away sand and found water in small quantity under a bluff of conglomerate rock. Passed N. about 3 m—" *Dos Narices*" or *Saddle Mt* on R—then into an arroyo which soon became a feeble stream, joining "*Deer Cr*," coming in from N. and bending to W., soon joining *Gila*, about Junction of *San Pedro*. Passed Sp[ring] at or near head of the arroyo—the 1st water is laid down on map as "*Saddle Mt Cr*", the spring is one at which I saw a fight between a tarantula and a tarantula hawk in 1870.

Turned W & N, going over a small divide and coming down into cañon of "*Rock Creek*"—The Cr, where we touched it, was flowing but soon ran dry—Its direction was S. W. and then W, through a gorge—to *Gila*, High Mts to S. of *Rock Cr*—Started again, going N— across high hills—3 miles to *Rio Gila*, which we crossed and camped. W. W. and G. Our general direction to day has been about N—Day's march . . . 18 m.

Friday Dec 13th Broke Camp at daybreak—Moved about due W—2 or 3 miles, going over a small divide and coming down into a dry bed of a stream (flowing E. S. E.) which I think is *Disappointment Creek*—

Country level—High Mts to L. and R.—*Gila* flows on other side of Mts to R—Kept on W. about 2 or 3 m, in arroyo, then

turned N, going about 3 m, up mountain side. High hills on R & L and *Pinal Mt.* directly in our Front—Indians left us, going to R. hand, following 2 fresh horse tracks— (5) five Indians remained with us—Kept North, Keeping between High Hills—Came down into a potrero, where we camped. Good grass on hill side, Cottonwood, scrub oak & a little cedar in vicinity—Saw some little pine to day—Water of Camp flowing S—Water scarce—Just before reaching camp saw direction and indications (trees) of a water course coming in from N. W. Distance to day . . . 16 m.

Saturday, Dec 14th Broke Camp at daylight. Moved on up Dissapp^t C^r about 2 m, crossed hills and turned N. E. after marching among elevated hills, came to H^d waters of W. fork of *San Carlos*—Country well grassed—Plenty scrub oak—Manzanita—Juniper—and on hill tops—Pine. Ascertained that the Mts we are now in are the *Pinal* with which the *Mescal Range* must connect—Courier from *Es-qui-mas-quin*⁵ now came in to say that he had followed trail of yesterday and ascertained whither the hostile Apaches had gone—Command halted on brow of a hill—one of the foot hills of *Pinal Range* . . . 10 m

*Triplets*⁶ to ENE. *Natanas Butte* NE M^t *Trunbull* EENE—open Country to our front and beyond that the S^a *Apache*—marched W. N. W. and S. W. for about 4 m—going to a little cañon in *Pinal Range* on N. Side—12 m Wood in great quantities—Pine, oak, Manzanita, juniper and some few cottonwoods in close proximity to camp—Water in cañon—flowing at intervals—H^d Waters of *San Carlos*—West fork, Grass—fine gramma.

S^a *San Carlos* E. N. E.—*Natanas Butte* N. E. "*Es-qui-mas-quin*" rejoined us at this Camp bringing information as to the Indians whose trail he had followed yesterday—They have evidently gone in the direction of the W. end of S^a *Pinal* or to *Superstition Mountain*.

Sunday, Dec 15th. Broke Camp 7 A. M. Marched N. one mile, N. W. 2 miles and S W about 2 miles, the last turn taking us down through a small valley—passed a small dry arroyo with cottonwoods, running towards N. W.—probably a branch of *Pinal C^r*. Are now behind M^{ns} in front of

5. This Apache scout *Es-qui-mas-quin* is not the "*Es-ki-min-zin*" whose story has been told by John P. Clum. His nickname was "*Bocón*" (big mouth). See notes of Dec. 11th.

which we camped last night. It and the entire range (*Pinal*) on L covered with pine on summits. Hills to-day well grassed with blue & white gramma. Saw large Indian trail going N. and NE—Women & children evidently with the party about 40 in No. Mtns to R. about 15 m away, across open country, probably part of *S^aApache*—Kept S.W.—going 4 miles passing a number of dry arroyos, which in rainy season are confluent of *Pinal Creek*. Made Camp on a creek flowing N—Are now about W. end of *S^a Pinal*. Wood, water & grass abundant—In pursuance of a plan made last night *Esquimasquin* with *M^r Felmer, Macintosh, Antonio* and 25 Indians, started this morning to follow the trail spoken of yesterday—This party was to move one day in advance of the main body, sending us back word each morning at what point we are to camp and also one of their party to guide us to the exact spot so as to avoid all possibility of mistake. In case the advance party suddenly came upon a rancheria or a band of hostile Indians beyond their strength, they are to halt, send messengers to *Major Brown* and we are to join them by night and then united we will creep upon the enemy. From the number and variety of fresh tracks seen during to day's march, it is evident, the hostile Apache are much alarmed at our presence in their country and are seeking safety in hasty flight. I still adhere to the opinion that we shall encounter a very large band in the *S^a Supersticion* or the extreme N W corner of the *S^a Pinal*—If the troops from *Hualpai, Date Cr, Verde, Apache* and *McDowell* only do half their duty we shall be able to inflict upon the hitherto incorrigible Apaches, a chastisement from the effects of which they can never recover.

8 PM Rec^d a dispatch from *Archie MacIntosh* stating that the advance guard had found a rancheria of Indians and had exchanged shots, wounding one Apache who however, managed to escape through the thick undergrowth on top of the Mtⁿ—Also stated that the Indians Knew our Com^d was in their country & had detailed spies to watch our movements from the tops of the Mtⁿ Ranges—Retreating Indians had fallen back in direction of the *Superstition Mt^{ns}*—A camp was also designated for to-morrow-night. Indians who came as couriers brought some trophies left by the hostile Indians in their retreat and said that (12) twelve horse-tracks had been counted on the trail—Weather to-night clear and warm.

Monday Dec 16th. Broke camp 6:35 A. M. Moved North-erly across foot hills of *Pinal M^t* for about 2 miles—then for same distance down on other side—came down into valley of *Pinal C^r* (dry at this point) flowing to N. Turned W. W. and crossed over low hills—7 miles. While going down the sides of the high Mt which forms one edge (NE of Pinal) saw to the north and in valley of *Pinal Cr*—about 8 miles ahead of us, a great cloud of smoke resting over some cottonwood trees, where the Creek was evidently a running stream—Indian boys with us said this was the Camp of an American scouting party and it is more than probable we are now within easy communicating distance of the Comd. from *Apache* or *Verde*, or both. Country this morning finely grassed with gramma. Saw a small turret-shaped, barren peak to E. of North about 8 miles—one of foot-hills of *S^a Apache*. From the *M^t* tops to day saw the *S^a Matizal* to W. by a little N—Travelled over the hills, trail very winding, but keeping in a general WxN direction, about 2 miles. Hills covered with fine grass—came down upon W fork of *Pinal*, flowing, from High Mts. on our Left—to the N—about 2 miles to N joins with the other branch flowing N. W. and the main stream in N. W. direction, passing to the W. of the high pointed *Mtⁿ* (*S^a Apache*) which last night was to N. of our camp. This High Mt., I think, is the Western end of *S^a Apache*—*Pinal Cr* also flows to W. of the *Turret Butte*, already spoken of, and which is a spur from this high conical *Mtⁿ*, *S^a Apache* seen to N. W. xN.—Turned S. W. marching up bed of Western branch of the *Pinal*—went about a mile—turned S. and went about 2½ miles—Saw trail made by a scouting party of *Pima & Papago* Indians this morning—Camped in a little cove on W. end of *S^a Pinal*—Wood, Water & Grass—Indications of Gold & Silver—Water in cañon . . . 10 or 12 m

6.30 P M. *McIntosh*, *Felmer*, *Esquimasquin* and the rest of the advance guard returned to camp, reporting that shortly after daylight this morning they came upon the rancheria of the party they were pursuing yesterday; that owing to their being discovered by the hostile *Apache*, they were unable to surround the wickypus, but that upon making a spirited attack, the hostile party fled, leaving everything behind—our Indian allies pursued for (5) miles, but were unable to overtake the flying enemy,—upon desisting from the pursuit, our men gathered up and destroyed

everything belonging to the band of *Chunto*⁶ (who they ascertained was in command of those opposed to them). This is the man who lately killed in cold blood a Mexican boy at *Camp Grant*. Altogether the movement has been very successful because, at the present season these incorrigible devils must feel keenly every deprivation, and more that they are without an article of clothing, a particle of food, or any necessities, the bitter winter winds will cause them to perish upon the tops of the Mountains. The Indians fled to the S. W. towards the point where the *S^a Superstition* abuts upon the *Rio Gila*—our advanced guard reports, camping last night at a spring—“*El ojo de Chuparosa*” (*Humming Bird Springs*) on the summit of the *Pinal Mts*, where no white man had hitherto been. (12) twelve families comprise the band of *Chunto*, because there were that number of fires in his Camp.

Tuesday, Dec 17th. Remained in Camp. I have reason to regret my inability to describe in fitting terms the beauty of the place in which we now are. Situated at the extreme N. W. corner of the *S^a Pinal*, we find ourselves surrounded by the lofty foot-hills of that range—upon the summits we can just discern forests of pine and cedar, while in closer proximity to us are noble oak, scattered in clusters of twos & threes, giving shade to our men and animals. Luxuriant grasses carpet the hills, delicious water trickles down over the rocks in the cañon to our left. In places, we have a running stream; in others the water buries itself beneath the sands or collects in tanks of considerable depth and capacity. Everything seems quiet, nothing disturbs the stillness of the evening, but the tinkling of the bells in the pack trains or the neighing of animals in the herds of the Cavalry Companies.

This night the Indians had a great war-dance, of which the general arrangement was similar to that of the Hualpais who accompanied us last year. Some of the young bucks arrayed themselves in the muslin & calico captured in the *Rancheria* yesterday and feigning the manners of women received the advances of their male companions. A few singing in concert, though not in harmony, supplied the necessary music and the dancing once commenced was continued with undiminished vigor until near midnight—I was unable to learn the purport of the chorus, but to the best of

6. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona*, 179, for some reason gives this Apache's name as “Chuntz.”

my belief, it referred to past exploits against their enemies and promises of what might be expected in the future. . . . The name of Chunto was frequently heard from which I infer that a dismal future awaits that refractory cuss, and those who adhere to his fortunes.

A messenger [was] sent to night to Gen^l Crook.

Wednesday Dec 18th Broke Camp at 6 35 AM—Moved back on our trail and afterwards on a generally N. trail, from the point where we reached *Pinal Cr* yesterday to the place where it joins with E. Branch, then N—entering W. End of the S^a Apache and going up a small cañon which contained water flowing from the N—passed up this cañon about 3 m—turned E x N, at point where a tributary came in from N.—marched about 2 m in new direction and camped on running stream (branch of *Pinal*) W. W and G—

Weather Cold—Rained and snowed all day—No fresh signs
Distance to day . . . 15m

Thursday, Dec 19th On acc^t of the rainy weather yesterday and the inclemency of last night, the Com^d rem^d in camp this morning rather later than usual, the early morning hours being devoted to inspecting aparajoes ascertaining and repairing damages, and drying blankets & clothing. Men were not aroused until 6 am altho' the packers were busily at work long before that hour.

Marched at 8.45 am—Going N. over the Mts, passed down a cañon, over another hill down on N. side and then followed an arroyo, which was running from N to S. After going in this general Northerly direction about 3 m, halted to allow the packs to close up—Hills covered with snow—weather cool but mild, sun shining brightly, but skies filled with low hanging clouds. We may expect more bad weather. *Felmer, Antonio* and the greater part of the Indians left us, going to N. E: they will scout the country on our L. and join us to-morrow at a warm spring this side of the *Rio Salado*—Marched in a general N. direction varying not more than two or three points to E or W, for about 9 miles, the last six being in a cañon, enclosed by high hills, came to a stream bubbling out of the rocks, flowing from S to N—Camped W. W. & G in plenty. On our L. we had a peak which is the cone I called *Yeaston Peak* in my notes of a previous scout, made in these Mts in July 1870—Saw great quantities of fine granite to day—also some porphyry and beautiful conglomerate. The stream we are now on is an affluent of *Rio*

Salado. Saw the *Sierra Ancha*, to N. and W.—distant in a straight line about 8 m—To day's march not more than . . . 12 miles

The maps of the Engineer Bureau do not correctly lay down the *S^a Apache*, making it too narrow from N to S. Thus far we have had excellent luck in the location of our camps—that of today being no exception to the general rule—*Maj Brown* now proposes to cross the *Rio Salado*, push up *Tonto Cr*, or some other tributary and, if any hostile bands be in that vicinity, it is evident we must certainly catch them or drive them into the hands of the parties operating from the North, who, by the way, seem to have experienced some obstacles in the performance of their duties, as we can see no signs of them.

Weather fine—Sky cloudy—

Passed through a little pine timber to day—also some Juniper—Both kinds rather small. *Sombrero Butte* due North of us—Night clear and cold. Hard frost.—

Friday Dec 20th. Broke camp 7.45, crossed High hills to W. of Camp (about $\frac{1}{2}$ m); then turned S. by a little W. for about 2 m—W. one half mile passing among high hills, with rocky tops (running about E and W—) turned W. opposite little butte put down in map—Country hilly . . . 3 m.

Moved West by a little S. and then by a little N, so that we described an arc of a circle, passing through a very rough country, high mts on both sides; going down grade about 5 m, until we came to a little stream flowing from the mts on L—turned to R, going up hill until we came to summit; whence we overlooked country to N. and N-W. Saw the four peaks of *S^a Matritzal* to W—8 m

NB: The little creek we left to S. a few hundred yds below us, at base of Mountain, flows about West and must empty into *Rio Salado*—That on which we camped last night also joined that River—Marched about N. W. for one or two miles further, crossing *Salt River* and camping on R. Bank. W. W. and G. plenty. This camp is not so secluded as the others have been—*Rio Salado* here about S. W.—but just to R. of where we crossed it—flows more in a due N and S direction.—*S^a Ancha* directly in front of our Camp—Distance to day . . . 9 or 10 miles

Saturday Dec 21st Rem^d in camp to-day. No Indian signs have been seen for two or three days; weather pleasant, but indications of another storm. Day devoted to overhauling



FACING THE CAVE, ACROSS RIO SALADO
(light of Dec. 28, 1872)

aparajoes inspecting condition of animals and rest—A scout is to start to day towards *Tonto Cr* and the country about old *Camp Reno*, unless some fresh trails might occasion a change of direction. 3 P M a scouting party consisting of *Felmer, Antonio*, 15 soldiers and *Esquimasquin* with 25 Indians started for the country to the N. W. and N. of us—They will rout out any bands they may find on the East of *Tonto Cr*, unless they should happen to encounter a greatly superior force: It is also expected that when they join us at or near the site of old *Camp Reno*, they will bring us information upon which to base our calculations as to whereabouts of the Commands operating from the posts to the North of us—I do not doubt the ability and enthusiasm of the officers serving with the other expeditions, but the absence of signs of alarm on the part of the hostile Indians—there being no signal fires seen from the summits of Ranges overhanging or bordering upon the *Tonto Basin*—since our departure from *Grant*—all this leads me to apprehend that something must have occurred to obstruct the movements of *Randall* and *Carr*—It will be remembered that previous to our arrival at *Camp Apache*, alarm signals were seen showing from the Mts to the S and S. E. of *Camp Verde* [;] then only one party—Mason's, was moving out, now there are *eleven* companies of soldiers and about 200 or perhaps 250 Indians, in the *Tonto Basin*, these numbers being exclusive of any operation from *McDowell* or *Prescott*.

The beans issued to day and yesterday as rations to the Indians and soldiers were found to be over $\frac{2}{3}$ two thirds dirt—F. L. Austin is contractor at *Grant* and for this item of rascality his name should never again be allowed to appear on an army contract in *Arizona*—The officer who rec^d such stuff should be cashiered—

Sunday Dec 22. Broke camp 7 45AM. Marched in a general W. direction for about 2 m., crossing high hills, leaving *Rio Salado* to our left. Halted to allow packs to close up. By compass are now about 10° S. of W. from last night camp. Scenery beautiful. Grass very nutritious. S^a *Mati-zal* due W—S^a *Supersticion* S. W. S. 5° . . . 2 or 3 m

Marched in a W. course down the Salt River, crossing it twice, but returning to the R. hand side—(7m) Just as we were preparing to go into camp, heard shots to north—several volleys being fired in quick succession—Started at a gallop in the direction of the sound and after travelling

about 10 miles or more, we crossed to the head of a little cañon which I think is the same as that laid down on maps as "*Raccoon Cr.*," camped the command and sent out scouting parties in all directions. Soon found a rancheria, abandoned this morning, and carried off or destroyed everything they had left behind—Tobacco, meat, baskets, &c &c. Indians had been preparing to plant at this point, where the stalks of last year's corn are still standing—Just at this point *Felmer* and party returned bringing (3) three prisoners—(2) two women and (1) child—reported having attacked a party of Apaches with the above result. I omitted to state that I found a descriptive list, issued at *Camp Apache*, showing that some of these Indians had drawn rations at that post—Sept. 16. 1872. Signed "*M. Soulé, Act'g Indian Agent*"—What our next move may be depends upon the information to be extracted from the captives.

Found the ruins of an old fortification next to our camp—It is built on a hill overlooking the country to S S W & S E, for miles—the location being such that surprise was impossible. A part of the wall in one place is still about 3 feet high.

Monday. Dec 23^d Broke camp about daylight moved S. down the hill from camp about 3 m—turned to W. climbed up mesa and then S. W. 2 m. S and S. S. W. about one more, crossed *Rio Salado* at mouth of a dry creek, which some of us took to be the *Pinal*—others the *Pinto Creek*. Went up stream (going S.) for 2 miles then S. W. and S. S. W. for 2 miles—do [ditto] $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Halted in dry bed of stream, to allow pack train to close up—Sky cloudy, windy, —and every indication of a storm—Have now determined this to be *Pinto Cr* . . . 11 miles

Went S. up creek one mile. Halted and camped. W. W. and G. We are now about due S. from last night's camp—perhaps a little W. of a due N and S line.

Distance . . . 12 miles

Tuesday Dec 24th—14th day. Broke camp at day-break, moving W. over a mesa about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 m—passed down into a dry arroyo, turned S, went half a mile, halted to allow pack train to close up— $3\frac{1}{2}$ m.

Day bright and cold—Last night, contrary to expectations, we had only a slight rain, early in the evening, the stars coming out about midnight.—went S. W. about half a mile,—S. same—S W and S S W one mile—West one mile

—passing up this arroyo and getting into high hills—Found water running from rocks but soon sinking into sand. Passed trail of *Pimas* and *Pagagoes* going S—about two months old—Saw many beautiful varieties of granite conglomerate and porphyry—*Esquimasquin* left us this AM going on scout—he is to rejoin us to-morrow. No fresh Indians signs—no signal fires. The captives state that they saw no signs of scouting parties from any direction—, until seized upon by our advance guard. This may be interpreted either as showing a commendable secrecy in the movements of those dispatched by *Genl Crook* from the other sides of *Tonto Basin*, or else they have not advanced with much energy and we are not to receive any benefit from their co-operation.

Distance . . . 6 miles

Stream not laid down on map.

Wednesday Dec 25th. *Xmas* comes but once a year—The day opened bright and genial just such a one as I hope our folks at home are having with the addition of good cheer, which we have not—Rations beginning to shorten. Broke camp at 8.45 A M—Moved W. by S. going up cañon about 500 yds and then climbing very high & steep hills: Went one mile—Halted—Saw our camp on *Salt River* to NE x E 5°—We are now in foot-hills of *S^a Supersticion* and I incline to the opinion we have some climbing to do the coming week. Marched S. W. 2 miles and W. half a mile—passing thro' deep and rocky cañons and climbing steep mountains. Halted on top of high hill well grassed—saw mountains on *W of Phoenix** in distance. Directly in front of us and in very close proximity (S.W.) saw the portion of this range (*S^a Supersticion*) visible from the road as you pass from *Rowell's Station* on the *Rio Salado* to *Stiles'* on *Rio Gila*. Moved down Mt going about 2 miles: time occupied in descent 46 minutes. Found trail to be very good, but steep. Saw deep cañon on our left, running from S E to N W—When we reached foot of High Mountain, found ourselves in a cañon of granite walls, bottom sloping at very heavy grade—Still going S. W. and W. S. W. marched about 2 miles passing over rolling country for nearly the entire distance, reached the cañon of which I have just written. This has

*Later in day, found that these Mts are on W side of *Gila*, where it makes its *Big Bend*. John G.

at this point a general S E to N. W. course—on L Bank of the stream, dry at this point, there is a high slender peak, which is most probably "*Weaver's Needle*"—The formation to-day is nearly all granite of inconceivable variety and beauty: some sandstone, porphyry &c. Went up cañon (SE) 500 yds struck running water clear and cold—Distance to day, nearly 8 miles

Just as we made camp, a Sergeant of Capt Burn's Co "G" 5th Cav. came to inquire of *Maj Brown* whom we were going after. Capt Burns and Lt Thomas came into Camp—Reported having left *McDowell*, Dec 20th, with 40 men "G" Co 5th Cav and (98) ninety-eight *Pima* Indians—Had captured one squaw. Same date, Capt Hamilton 5th Cav, had left *McDowell* with 40 men, scouting to the N. E., N. and N. W. —Each command was rationed for (12) days. Capt *Randall's* Command killed (25) twenty-five Indians near head of *Tonto Creek*—Such good news served to enliven us all. We also ascertained that *Montgomery* had one fight and *Adams* two (2) with the Apache-Mojaves—killing (2) two (11) eleven and (13) thirteen respectively—besides captives. If we can only make a good strike the war, as far as *Tontos* and *Apache-Mojaves* are concerned will be at an end. *Capt Burns'* captive boy "Mike," gave an acc^t tonight of 3 three rancherias—one corresponding in location & character to that already described by *Bocon*; another in a cañon on *Rio Salado* and a 3^d on top of the (4) *four peaks*—all inaccessible save by circuitous routes and all strong in numbers. By sneaking upon them in the night we can, by good luck, make our attacks at day-dawn and kill their warriors whilst asleep.

Thursday Dec 26th Awaited in camp the arrival of messengers from *Es-qui-mis-quin*, who sent 3 men in to *Maj Brown*, about 9 o'clock—A fresh trail had been struck, leading in the direction of *Delt-chay's* strong-hold. Our command is to go to-day to the *Rio Salado* and camp in a cañon, tomorrow we are to follow down the river and make a camp at a point secluded from observation & from thence we are to go on foot to surprise the rancheria. 11⁴⁵ midday—Broke camp going back on our trail N W. for about 300 yds—then W—to the camp of *Captain Burns*—about half a mile from our camp—then W. a little S. over hills for a total distance of 2 or 2½ miles, halting on a hill about due W. from the high Mt we descended yesterday. Hills are now covered with saguaras—We then proceeded down a steep, but not

bad, grade to the *Rio Salado*, which we reached at 1.05 P. M. . . . 4 miles. *Rio Salado* here flowing about N and S but only for a short distance, its course being extremely sinuous—Crossed river, passed down its R. Bank about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and camped—Camp is hidden from observation of *Apaches* except from West—Weather extremely mild.

Distance to day . . . about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles

We have all told, 220 fighting men

Friday Dec 27th Rem^d at camp expecting return of *Esquimiskuin*—All are confident of finding *Delt-chay* in his stronghold and, if so, we will make the biggest killing of the campaign—It is rather disappointing to know that our efforts have not been as successful as those of *Randall* and the others farther N, but we hope to meet with such good fortune during the present week as shall be a fitting recompense for all our past troubles & exertions. 12.40 P M—Left camp, going back on our trail (N) for about 300 yds—then due W (nearly) going up very steep and strong grade and through pass in Mtⁿ Range that lay to W. of camp of 26th—Halted at top of pass to let packs close up—(2) two miles We are now S of W about 5°, from High M^t we descended on Xmas. Country in this vicinity very badly broken—on L. hand side of this pass—Mt^{ns} are topped by a precipitous ledge of rocks, hundreds of feet high—Upon the highest peak a solitary mescal stalk keeps watch like a sentinel upon the valleys & cañons below. Passed down the mountain on other side, going S. W.—trail very bad with loose rocks—went about one mile and half—turned to W—cañon going S. W.—went over a hill about 300 yds and then turned N W, climbed up to top of very high Mtⁿ—one mile. *Rio Salado* to S. flowing W. S. W. through an extraordinarily deep cañon—Mtⁿ we are now on is very narrow—passed down other side, went about half mile—Halted (going S. W.). Trail to-day very bad in every sense of the word, we have not only had to climb steep mountains, but had an unusual amount of climbing to do and the trails being filled with loose sharp stones, our animals with difficulty picked their way.

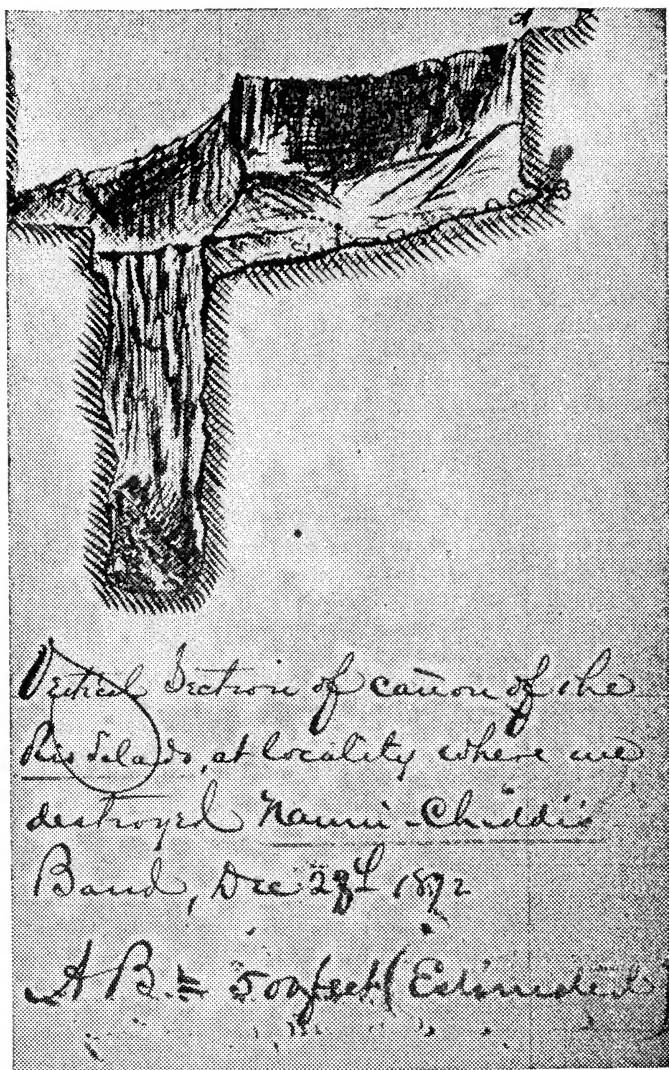
A mule died this morning from the effects of eating the insect called *Compramucho* and “Mayo.” Weather fine—The peak we called “*Weaver's Needle*” is on the L. Bank of *Rio Salado* (apparently.)

Went down through cañon to W, about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles. L. hand side a precipice—with an isolated peak jutting out at W.

extremity. Getting anxious about *Esquimisquin* who has now been absent (3) three days. Marched S. W. and W, about one mile or perhaps a little more—grade very steep—cañon precipitous on L. hand side—descended into a cañon, with water running S into *Rio Salado*—just before reaching camp saw foot-prints of a squaw who had been watching us descend the Mt^s and had just run down the cañon—Saw also a fresh pony track—We are now in sight of the high mesa Mountain on the summit of which *Delt-chay* has his stronghold, so we are compelled to exercise great caution in our movements—No fires are allowed, the horses and mules are strictly guarded in order that they may not climb up on any of hills commanded by Delt-shays Mt^{ns}—All singing, &c, is strictly forbidden and indeed no precaution is omitted tending to secure the secrecy of our movements. In the meantime every preparation is being made for a night march on foot. Each man looks to his weapons sees that his cartridge belt is full—inspects his clothing—rejecting all that is not absolutely essential to protect him from the cold—provides himself with rations to do for a day or two, and a few matches which are of importance at every moment. Many of us have had our Apache allies make mocassins which are just the thing in which to climb mountains without giving warning to our foes.

The sky has become overspread with clouds—*Maj Brown* has accordingly allowed the Indians to stew the mule which died today, and whose remains the noble red men brought along. We are to start when a *certain star*, Known to the Indian, rises to its position in our meridian.

8 P. M., our Indians moved out in front—then *Burn's Co*, then *Almy, Taylor* and finally the *Pimas* under their old chief *Antonio*; after marching nearly due W about 3 miles, passing 2 two prominent Sandstone buttes of considerable altitude on our R, our trail wound to the L. and our general direction became more S—after about 1½ miles' march we came to a steep Mtⁿ, up the side of which we toiled, using great care to make no noise which might alarm the enemy. About 12.15 the next morning we were at the summit—a distance as near as I could estimate of about (5) or (6) miles from Camp. We now rested for nearly an hour every man closing up to his proper position in the ranks and then lying prone to the ground. Apache scouts were soon sent ahead, who soon returned with the information of fires



CANON OF RIO SALADO (vertical section)
 the cave shown at "B"

being discovered in the cañon below—We now advanced one man at a time until we reached the edge of a gloomy abyss, how deep it was I could not then discover, and upon this edge we waited in the cold piercing night air, without blankets or overcoats until the morning rose beamed upon the surrounding hills—We had then an opportunity to examine the locality much dreaded by the *Pimas*, used as one of the strongholds of the *Apache-Mojave* and *Tontos*. Situated upon the crest of a very elevated range it was difficult of access to large parties from all sides except that upon which we had come and even here the character of the soil was such that a footstep, unless made in the most cautious manner, could be heard for miles.

Granting that an attack could be made, the *Apaches* could escape unharmed under cover of immense boulders which served as a natural *Chemin de Ronde*. Looking down into this place, no evidences of recent occupancy could be detected, a disappointment all the more bitter from its contrast to our recent enthusiastic hopes for success.

Most of the Command being fatigued sat down to rest, but *Joe Felmer* and a few others started down the trail towards the *Rio Salado* not with any expectation of finding hostile Indians but rather from a disposition to examine into the nature of the country. About 300 yds from where they left us, in a secluded spot, was found a recently abandoned rancheria of (3) or (4) huts—passing on rapidly, upon descending the mountain somewhat farther, a drove of fifteen horses and mules was encountered and almost immediately afterwards a rancheria was seen in an almost impregnable position, which I shall in a few moments proceed to describe—This handful of our comrades, with a gallantry that cannot be too highly extolled at once charged the Indians, killing (6) six and driving the remainder into the cave at whose entrance the rancheria was situated. Word having in the meantime reached *Maj. Brown*, the main body was pushed forward as fast as our tired legs would permit, the enthusiasm of the men rising again at the prospect of a fight. To avoid verbose details, let me say the rancheria was thus situated—In a small, elliptical nook, upon the crest of the bluffs which here enclose the *Rio Salado* was a small cave or depression in the rocks, which overhung this nook by at least 500'—the bluffs, just mentioned, being 1000 or 1200' above the *Rio Salado*. In front of the cave, a natural rampart of sandstone 10' high afforded ample protection to

the Indians, altho the great number of boulders scattered in every direction screened our men in turn from the fire of the besieged. Our policy was obvious—the incorrigible Apaches, at least a portion of them, were now entrapped beyond possibility of escape and in justice to our men, whose lives should not be rashly imperilled, orders were given to make no charge upon the works, to pick off every Indian showing his head, to spare every woman and child, but to kill every man. Twice the besieged were asked to surrender their families, promises being given that no harm should befall them, but confident in their ability to repel us, their only answers were yells of defiance. These shouts of scorn were soon changed into groans of despair as our shots began to fall with deadly accuracy upon them, reckless attempts at escape being made but in each case resulting in the death of those who tried to run our gauntlet of fire. One splendid looking Indian, over 6 feet, most beautiful proportioned, but with a very savage countenance, did indeed succeed in breaking through our front line and making his way down the arroyo, full of large rocks, upon one of which he sprang with a yell of defiance, bravado or joy, I cannot say which—Twelve of us, concealed at this point, levelled our rifles and fired—Every shot must have hit him as he fell dead, riddled from head to foot. This particular instance is mentioned to show the deadly nature of the fire we opened upon them, both as to accuracy and quantity. A volley was now directed upon the mouth of the cave, & for (3) three minutes, every man in the command opened and closed the breech-block of his carbine as rapidly as his hands could move. Never have I seen such a hellish spot as was the narrow little space in which the hostile Indians were now crowded. To borrow the expression employed by a brother officer, the bullets striking against the mouth of the cave seemed like drops of rain pattering upon the surface of a lake. I must not omit to state that Capt Burns' Co "G." 5th Cav, had succeeded in gaining a position upon the crest of the overhanging bluffs, whence they discharged deadly volleys upon the wretches fighting below. Not content with the deadly efficacy of bullets, they resorted to projecting large masses of rock which thundered down the precipice mangling and destroying whatsoever they encountered. A charge was now ordered and the men rushed forward: upon entering the enclosure a horrible spectacle was disclosed to view—in one corner, (11) eleven dead bodies were huddled, in another

four and in different crevices they were piled, to the extent of the little cave and to the total number of (57) fifty-seven*, (20) twenty women and children were taken prisoners, the spoils, very considerable in quantity, were destroyed. We found mescal baskets, seed, hides, skins and the material usually composing the outfit of these savage nomads.

Our captives were nearly all wounded, more or less severely, but by good fortune we succeeded in bringing them off in safety. One of our *Pima* allies was killed, but, with this exception, no losses occurred. Thus ended the most signal blow ever received by the Apaches in Arizona—Not alone did we destroy an entire band, but a band actively engaged in depredating upon the *Gila settlements*, one that spurned every offer of the Gov^t to make peace—*Nanni-Chaddi*, the chief, had been into *McDowell* last year talking with that spawn of hell, Vincent Colyer, from whom he received presents of blankets and other necessities, promising in return to comply with the demands of the lawful Government and obey its orders. He had also visited [Camp] *Grant* where in conversation with *Col Royall*, he boasted that no troops ever had found his retreat and none ever would.

Taking a general N direction, we traveled (?) miles across high hills until we reached a running stream upon which we found our pack-train encamped, having moved there early in the morning.

Supper was eagerly devoured by men who had eaten nothing for (26) hours and had been worn out by climbing steep Mtns and the excitement of fighting for (5) five hours.

Our captives were well taken care of and, excepting the guards placed over them, appeared as if in their own homes. Sunday Dec 29th—Moved N W about one mile, W about one mile, NNW—one mile, then W and W by a little S for 15 m or 18 miles, going parallel to the creek known as the *Sycamore*, until we reached the *Rio Verde*, part of the time marching in the bed of the stream (*Sycamore*,) dry at this part of its course—turned S, went about 4 or 5 miles to *Camp McDowell*, crossing *Rio Verde* in front of post.

Distance marched—

night of Dec 27th . . . 8 miles

Dec. 28th . . . 10 to 12 miles

or perhaps 15 miles

Dec 29th . . . 25 miles

*Seventy Six (76) altogether were killed in this fight. [J.G.B]

Character of country The worst I ever saw.

Dec. 28th and 27th

Weather mild and genial.

Dec 28th Our camp was on (?) of four peaks to S.W. of the most S one of the four.

Dec 29th Rained all night.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING THE CAMPAIGN

Dec 30th Rainy. Rem^d at *Camp McDowell* attending to wounded and refitting &c.

Express sent to Gen^l Crook.

Dec 31st Rained all day, except at short intervals. Remained at *McDowell*—Capt. *Hamilton* & Lieut *Keyes* returned from scout—reported having found rancheria on E side of *Tonto C^k* & some distance beyond. Destroyed it. Captured & brought back (3) three children. Found (4) four descriptive lists, issued at *Camp Apache* and signed—one by Mr. *Soulé* and (3) three by A. J. *Dallas*.

Reported having met Captain *Randall's* Comd Dec 25th near the *Tonto C^k*.

The *Maricopas*, who accompanied this command from *McDowell*, behaved so badly that Capt *Hamilton* deprived them of their arms & sent them home, early on the trip; hence, being without Indian trailers, his success was not as great as it would have been had his earnest efforts been properly seconded—

Both *Pimas* & *Maricopas* have shown themselves to be a great fraud.

January 1st 1873. New Year's—Rem^d in *Camp McDowell*.

January 2^d, 3^d, 4th, 5th, D^o. Gen^l *Crook* arrived *January 2nd* Remained until *January 5th* when he returned to *Grant*. He was accomp^d by *Mason McCoy*, his chief of scouts for Southern Arizona.

January 3^d *Adam* and *Montgomery* came in with their commands and were ordered, *January 4th* to report to Maj *Brown* for duty.

January 5th Indian captives sent to *Grant*.

January 6th An expedition under command of Maj *Brown*, left *McDowell* at 4 P.M.

Consisting of

Maj. W. H. Brown 5th Cav

"C" 5th Cav-----Capt Adams [Adam]

"B" 5th Cav-----" Montgomery

"H" 5th Cav-----" Hamilton

"L" 5th Cav-----" Taylor

"G" 5th Cav-----" Burns

"M" 5th Cav-----1st Lieut Almy

1st Lieut C. H. Rockwell with Co "L"

2nd Lieut W. S. Schuyler with Co "B"

2^d Lieut E. L. Keyes with Co "C"

Assist. Surgeon I. B. Girard, U.S.A., Surgeon.

2 Lieut W. J. Ross, A. D. C.

2 Lieut John G. Bourke, A. D. C.

James Daily

went as Volunteer Bacon Chawers

A McIntosh Guide

Joe Felmer Guide

Antonio Besias Interpreter

30 Apache Indians under Esqui-nas-guisn or "Bocon."

Messers Bartlett, Frank Monach and Chenowith in charge of pack-trains.

(20) twenty days' Rations. Left *Camp McDowell*, A. T., Monday, January 6th 1873. travelled S.S.E & S for 2 miles SSE & E for half a mile, crossed *Rio Verde*, flowing at this point SSE, passed down the river and camped on its Right Bank in an open flat. Country passed through to-day was an open plain, covered with brush. We brought with us some Indian captives to act as guides—

Weather charming.

Distance . . . 31½ miles

Captain Montgomery of the Rear Guard brought in news that the Eastern papers contained an account of the death of Capt F Stanwood, 3rd Cavalry.

Tuesday Jan 7th 1873. Broke camp 8.30 A.M.—Marched S.E. 1½ mile, passing at end of one mile the S. E. corner post of the U. S. Mil. Reservation of *McDowell*. *Rio Verde* still running S. S E—Weather fine—Sky cloudless. Turned S, marched 5 miles, crossed the *Rio Salado*, here flowing E. N.E. and W.S W—turned E N. E moving along L. Bank of River 2 miles and camped—

Distance to day . . . 8 or 9 miles

The Command stretches along over a great distance being 46 minutes passing a given point.

Location of camp, a bottom land, with rolling country in close proximity.

Wednesday, January 8th 1873.—Broke camp 7:45 marched E.S.E. 2 miles, marched S E N E $\frac{1}{2}$ m. Entered an arroyo, which we followed going about due S (E. about 5° or 6°) for 2 miles, sides growing higher—turned E about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles. Marched around High Peak on our L—turned S. E. again & went about 2 or 3 miles with a little if any inclination to E S E—Made a total distance of about 10 miles or perhaps 11 miles, the last mile being over rolling grass land (the arroyo having terminated). Halted to allow packs to close up—Passed some tanks in rocks, about 8 miles from last night's camp. Weather fine. Marched N.N.E. about 3 miles and in a general northerly direction about as many more—Came down into a little arroyo, surrounded by high hills, with a feeble stream of water flowing N—Camped. Wood, water and Grass—Distance to day about . . . 15 miles
Two men deserted early this morning taking with them arms & horses—

Thursday, January 9th 1873. Broke camp 9. am, marched down cañon, going North one and half mile, came to Junction of another cañon flowing from S.E. Water in tanks at Junction. Went S. E. about 300 yds then E, over a little divide, one mile, turned N, country now quite rugged—went in the new direction 2 miles, keeping to R of a little red sandstone butte. Marched across little mountain, turned E. went one mile turned N, went about half mile, then a nearly E. course (by N) for a distance of 2 miles—Halted on a bend of *Rio Salado*—which here flows South and makes an abrupt turn to N.N.W.

Distance marched to day about 8 or 9 miles

Weather mild—sky clear.

Our present Camp is within 600 or 800 yds of the scene of slaughter, Dec 28th 1872.

Friday January 10th 1873. Broke Camp 7.45. Marched E by S. up cañon creek for about 3 m—turned N. N E. by E. up one of its tributaries for $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles—then a due E course for $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 miles more—finding water 10. am, 10.35 A M, 11.05 A M—and in tanks at many points: went about 3 m more in general E direction—Country very bad. Went down

a steep descent into a cañon which ran to [?] from S.S.E.—about . . . 13 miles

Went along this cañon about S E for one mile, then turned abruptly E and made camp in a cove well sheltered from observation on the S or E—Distance to day . . . 15 miles

Weather mild—Windy in the morning.

Saturday January 11 1873. Remained in Camp all day. 2 P. M. *Capt Burns* with his Command & *Lieut Almy's Co*, moved out with the Indian scouts on foot to scour the country to the S. E. The main body having agreed upon a rendezvous, at which to meet Captain Burn's party, moved at 4 30 P M going N. until we arrived on top of a big mountain, then we turned E going about 3 miles, then S about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, then up a cañon, going N.E. a few hundred yards, then S. E. going across high mountain, keeping to L of *Weaver's Needle* making a total distance of 7 or 8 miles. Descending into a place where a number of little cañons joined, we made camp: water in small quantities being found in tanks in the rocks. Wood scarce. Grass plenty. Saw large signal fire on top of peak to the West—Saw water in a cañon about half way. . . 7 or 8 miles

Sunday Jan 12 1873. Remained in Camp expecting return of Captain Burn's party until 3.15 P.M., when we started S.W. going between one & one & half miles. Cañon during later part of our march ran more in a due N & S course. Found water & made camp—Rejoined by Capt Burn's command—which had scouted the Mt^{ns} to S. and found an extremely large rancheria, lately abandoned. Trails were all running in the direction of *Cave Creek*.

Weather to-day calm & Genial.

Total distance . . . 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles

Monday, Jany 13th 1873. Broke camp 2 15 PM—Marched N. half mile—E by a little N. about one mile, Keeping between hills, then E. N. E. for half a mile and ESE for same, keeping on S. side of high Mtⁿ. *Gila valley* to R. about 20 miles from us in a direct line—Turned N, went about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, climbing over high Mtⁿ, well grassed, High Mt^{ns} on all sides. Weather cool—Sky hazy. Went about half mile to N, turned E, went about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and made camp in a beautiful spot, secluded from the observation of all Indians except those who may be on extreme top of Four peaks. Water very plenty and of great purity—Grass ditto, Wood abundant, Cedar, Juniper, Oak.

We had a good view to-day of the *Rio Gila*, *Rio Salado*, *Four peaks*, *S^a Santa Catarina*, *S^a Tortolita*, and the settlements at *Florence & Phoenix*, also the *Picacho*, between *Tucson & Sacaton*.

Total distance to-day about . . . 5 miles

Tuesday Jan'y 14th 1873. Broke camp about 1 45 P.M. Marched E.N.E. for nearly half a mile going up very steep hill—Marched N.N.E. for about one mile going down mountain and entering ravine in which we soon found running water. Followed general course of stream N. E. by a little N—Saw spring and little stream on Left (3 m.). Kept on down stream until we came to its junction with another smaller one from the left. Marched among lofty hills. Water plenty and good; wood & grass Do. Weather genial sky clear.

Distance about . . . 3½ miles

Not finding a good location for a camp, the command moved on in the general direction (NE) of the cañon for (2) two miles, the trail leading along crest of a high Mtⁿ. Made camp at Junction of this cañon with another running from South.

Total distance about . . . 5½ miles

Wednesday, January 15th 1873—Day opened very cold—High wind—Rem^d. in camp until midday, when the entire command started on foot from camp, leaving the pack trains and horses behind in charge of Capt *E Adam* 5th Cavalry. Our movement was made with the greatest caution and very slowly. We marched N about half a mile—E ¼ mile over very high mountain—Halted until night. Moved N. E. for about 3 miles, reaching a rancheria just about break of day. The occupants rushed out from their jacales, just as our men were about in position, or a little sooner, so that we did not meet with the success anticipated—We captured (13) thirteen women and children and killed (3) three. We also captured the old Chief of the Band. These people were very poor, possessing but little beside what had been given them at *Grant* and *M^cDowell* when they made peace. A descriptive list signed by *Royall E Whitman*, dated May 2nd 1872, was found in this camp.

Thursday, January 16th 1873. Marched W.S.W. about 4 or 5 miles to a point in the same cañon as yesterday's camp, but about 2 miles below, where we found pack-trains & led horses had moved. Water here flowing E—Made Camp. W.

W.&G plenty. Distance to day (in an air line about 3 miles) . . . $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles

Friday, January 17th 1873. Broke camp 9 a.m. Marched SE and E.S. going up steep Mtⁿ. for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 miles, turned N. going along crest, about one mile. Weather fine. Last night was quite cold—Sky is clear—*Pinal Mⁿ*. E by 5° S—Went about half mile E.N.E.—(2) two miles S E—Went one mile E and S. about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ m. Camped. W.W. & G. plenty. We passed a small creek this a.m.—just after leaving camp on R—The stream upon which we camped & runs from S to N—Just S of camp, there is another stream from the SE. Distance to-day . . . 8 miles

Found that this camp was below junction of *Pinto* and *Pap-poose* Creeks, at the point where we destroyed some fields of corn, in the month of July 1870.

Saturday, January 18th 1873, Broke camp 9.05 marched S about 1000 yds—then E, going up a high Mtⁿ, after marching about one mile, halted the column on side of hill and sent out Indian scouts to capture or kill some Apaches (hostile) who were seen on hill to our L. heard halloing at us. After a short time, an Apache boy came down the Mtⁿ side and joined us. *Maj Brown* told him to go back and bring in his band—a pass was given him to ensure his safety. These people report being very much frightened at the sight of such great numbers of troops in their country. Moved SE. through the mountain pass, found quantity of water flowing N.W., going about 3 miles—halted on top of hill, alongside of the big white rocks which are to North of the site of old *Camp Pinal*.—Passed on through *Mason's Valley*, E about 2 miles and S and S.S.E. about 4 miles more—Descended a very steep hill, entered cañon of *Mineral Creek*, here flowing S, dry in great part of its course. Weather genial, sky clear.

Distance to day . . . 10 or 12 miles

Sunday, January 19th 1873. Broke camp 9 a.m. Marched S. one mile—then E.S for about one and quarter miles—going up "*Shady Run*"—Halted and made camp. Water, in spring, about sufficient for cooking purposes—water for animals, one quarter mile below—Wood and Grass plenty. Weather delightful—Sky clear.

Indians in this section of country are now begging for peace, which they say, they will ask for on their knees.

The campaign against the hostile Indians on this side of the *Rio Salado* may be considered at an end.

To-morrow (4) four companies leave us to go to the new camp at *Mount Graham*—Burn's, Hamilton's, Adam's, and Montgomery's—Burns at *Eureka Springs* and the others to take station at *Kennedy's Wells*. "F" 5th Cav, under L^t *W. P. Hall*, is already at M^t *Graham*.

Monday, January 20th 1873. Commands separated at 8 a.m., our detachment going E for about 1 mile, then SE for 2, getting upon a rolling mesa land, covered with grass—then in a general S.E. course for 8 m. more, going into a cañon, with spring of water. S. half a mile, W, about same, then general S course for 4 miles to *Rio Gila*.

Weather fine, Sky clouded.

Distance to-day . . . 16 to 18 miles

(killed 11 or 12 deer to-day & last night)

The night was very cold.

Tuesday January 21st 1873: Broke camp 8 a.m.—Marched SE 7 miles, keeping *Rio Gila* on our R—High M^t peak on the other side and high hills on our side of the river. Turned more to the E and marched 3 miles, crossed to L. Bank of *Rio Gila*. Day fine, Sky clear. Saw the Saddle Mt to E.N.E., and to the E. Marched E by a little S for another mile and then S.S.E. by S for 5 mile, going up *Rio San Pedro*. Halting within 5 miles of *Camp Grant*. Distance to day about 18 miles. Camp on R Bank of River.

January 22^d. Continued march to *Camp Grant*. Distance about . . . 6 miles

Courier sent to Gen^l Crook, with dispatches from *Capt Nickerson*

Thursday, January 23^d. Rem^d in Grant, conference held with Indians.

Friday, Rem^d at Grant. (26) twenty-six new recruits obtained for Gen^l Crook. *DeLord* arrived to-day, bringing statement that the Territorial Legislature had in contemplation the adoption of resolutions reflecting upon the policy of Gen^l Crook and especially in reference to the attack upon the *Apache Mojaves* at *Camp Date Creek*, last September or August. Also a rumor to the effect that Gen^l Crook's war-like policy was to be discontinued.

Arrangements are now completed for sending *Taylor* with (3) three Companies to M^t *Graham*, where he will find *Ran-*

dall with (3) companies and (46) Apache scouts, *Adams* with (4) four Companies, & *Hall* with one (1), all of Cavalry and *Thompson* with one of Infantry. Perhaps *Sumner's* and *Bendeire's* [Bendire] Comp[an]ies will also receive orders to report to Gen^l Crook at *Graham*, making a grand total of (13) thirteen Co's of Cav. and one (1) of Infantry to watch *Cocheis'* Camp.

Brown and myself start tomorrow for *Cocheis'* Camp via the *San Pedro* Middle Crossing.

Saturday January 25 1873. Left Camp at 11 A M—Going up *San Pedro River*—Weather genial, sky clear. Marched about due S for 3 m, passing the Indian Agency and turning a little E went about one mile and half—Camped on *San Pedro*—Distance to day about (4½) four and half miles.

Sunday, Jan'y 26 1873. Maj Brown having been prostrated by an acute attack of dysentery, the command was delayed in its march to-day until 9 a. m. when we broke camp & marched S.E. along R Bank *Rio San Pedro* for 15 miles—made camp. Rec^d important dispatches from Gen^l Crook, also dispatches from Captain *Furey*¹ . . . 15 miles.

Monday, January 27th. Maj Brown somewhat better, but still very weak. Command moved at 9 am, marched in a general SE course up valley of *San Pedro* for 28 or 30 miles—camped—Passed wagon train of (6) six wagons going to *Camp Grant*. Weather fine, Sky clear. Strong breeze blowing to-day . . . 28 miles

Tuesday, January 28th 1873. Broke camp 8.25 a. m. Moved in a general SE by a little S. course to *Tres Alamos* in which village we made camp. Just after leaving camp met a train (empty) going to *Grant*.

Passed a low range of hills on other side of river (not the *Sa Santa Catarina*). Met *L^t Hall* & his Co at *Tres Alamos* also saw *Don Estevan Ochoa*.²

Distance to day . . . 20 miles

Sky clear weather cold—Windy—

Wednesday Jan'y 29th 1873. Marched on road to middle

1. Captain John V. Furey was assistant quartermaster on the general department staff.

2. Don Estevan Ochoa was a New Mexican by birth. His Civil War record is told by Bourke in his *On the Border with Crook*. Other details are given by Farish, *History of Arizona*, II, 203-206.

crossing of *Rio San Pedro* & thence on G.S.O.M^s road to *Sulphur Springs*. Rec^d dispatches from Gen^l Crook.

Day very cold. High wind—Sky clear—Night bitterly cold.

Thursday, January 30th 1873. Remained at *Sulphur Springs*. Yesterday a note was sent to Agent *Jefferds*,⁴ requesting an interview with *Cochies* and to-day quite a large band of squaws and children have come over to our camp but *Cochies* was not with them. M^r *Jefferds* shortly after appeared and had a conversation with Maj *Brown* with whom he made arrangements for a meeting with *Cochies*—Express sent to General Crook.

Friday January 31st 1873. Went to *Camp Bowie*—Made trip in 4h. 35 minutes.

Saturday, February 1st 1873. Remained at *Bowie*.

Sunday, February 2nd 1873. Returned to *Sulphur Spring's* where we found a courier from General Crook. Made trip in 4h—5 minutes

Monday Feb 3, 1873. Marched S.W. across *Sulphur Sp's Valley*, 10 or 12 m to the 2^d cañon in the *Dragon Mt^s*. where we found *Cocheis* and his family with a few young warriors. *Cochies* is a fine looking Indian of about (50) winters, straight as a rush—six ft in stature, deep chested, roman nosed, black eyes, firm mouth, a kindly and even somewhat melancholy expression tempering the determined look of his countenance. He seemed much more neat than the other wild Indians I have seen and his manners were very gentle. There was neither in speech or action any of the bluster characteristic of his race—His reception of us was courteous, altho' he said but little in the way of compliment. He expressed his own earnest desire for peace—said that in the treaty made with *Howard*, it was understood that soldiers could pass over the roads on his Reservation, but could not live upon it, nor were citizens to settle there. In reference to the *Mexⁿ*, he said he considered them as being on one side in this matter, while the *Americans* were on another. The former had not asked him for peace as the latter had done. He did not deny that his boys were in the habit of raiding on *Mexico*, but this he could not prevent as it was no more than

3. Bourke's map of "Sulphur Valley" shows the "G.S.O.M.R" (Great Southern Overland Mail Road?).

4. For a sketch of T. J. Jeffords and his own account of his relations with Cochise and Howard, see Forish, II, *op. cit.*, 228-240.

was done from all the Reservations—Our interview⁵ was quite brief and at its conclusion, we returned to our camp at *Sulphur Sp*^s. I was very much astonished by the great number of children in the Indian Camp.

Distance to-day about . . . 22 or 24 m.

Tuesday, Feb 4th 1873. Marched to *Kennedy's Wells*, going first NW and then N.N.E.

Distance . . . 30 or 32 m.

Weather fine, Sky clear.

Wednesday, Feb 5th 1873. N x a few deg. E to the new post at *M^t Graham*—Found Genl C[rook]. Weather good—12 miles

Thursday Feb. 6th. Gen^l Crook left for [Camp] Grant. Co "E" & Co "K" 5th Cav. came in under *Price* (with *Parkhurst*) and *Michler*. The former had killed (5) five; the latter (16) sixteen Bucks.

Friday Feb 7th 73 Rem^d. at *Graham*.

Sat'y Feb 8th 73 do do

9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th do do

Saturday 15th. Moved in Com^d of "L" Troop 1st Cav. (*Randall's Battalion*)—W. out of cañon about 1 mile, then N.W. for 3 miles—then about due W. for 15 more—When about 10 m out from camp, passed down between a range of M^ts into a flat.

Reached *Eureka Fk* about 13 m from Camp

Total distance to-day . . . 19 m

5. Account of the interview between Maj. W. H. Brown, 5th Cav. and the Indian chief Cocheis or Cheis. February 3, 1873.

Major Brown: I have come from General Crook to this part of the country to see Cocheis: the General hears that Cocheis is at peace and he knows by Cocheis' actions that he has kept it. The General is anxious also to keep this peace in all its integrity, according to the terms of the Treaty; but, in order to be able to do this he wants to know what the terms of the treaty are. He has never been furnished with a copy of the treaty, and although he will receive a copy in time, yet it is a long way to Washington and as the easiest way to get these terms he has sent me to Cocheis to find out what he understands these terms to be, and, especially, with reference to the movements of troops within the reservation of Cocheis—and particularly, whether troops are to be permitted to come upon the Reservation or not—and also what has been the understanding about Mexico, whether the peace applies to the people of that country or not.

Cocheis: The troops were to pass and repass by the roads on the Reservation the same as ever, according as the emergencies of the service might require, but none were to come upon the Reservation to live, nor were citizens to do so.

Brown: What stipulations, if any, were made in the treaty with regard to the people of Mexico?

Weather cold—Windy—Sky clear.

Sund'y Feb 16th Moved W x N about 7 miles. Just before reaching camp found the country on fire—great volumes of smoke obscured the sky and retarded our advance. This camp, like that of last night, is on the *Aravaypa Creek*.

Monday Feb 17, 73 W by N (5°) to *Ojo Aravaypa* 7 m

Tuesday Feb 18th Moved in a general N. course for 14 miles—trail very sinuous—country rocky—passed water flowing W—came down into cañon *Gabilau* and made camp in front of *Clen-it-tin* (?)—Day fine—Sky clear.

Total distance . . . 14 miles

Wednesday, Feb 19.—Moved in a general N. direction down the cañon *Gabilau*—crossed divide into cañon *Ventana* and then down to *Rio Gila* (This trail I have already mapped out several times) Day clear and warm—Distance . . . 15 miles

Thursday, February 20th Remained in Camp.

Friday, February 21st. Moved up the *Rio Gila* about 1½ miles N.E.—1½ miles

Weather fair, Sky cloudy.

Bad news came to-day from *Grant*, to the effect that *Bocon*⁶ has played us false & gone again on the war-path.

Cocheis: (Endeavoring to evade the question) Now said that permission had been given them by General Howard to go to Mount Graham in seed-time to gather acorns mesquite beans, etc., but they were not to live at Mount Graham.

Maj. Brown: Tell them that is all right; they can go to Mount Graham and get seeds and such things as they may want, so long as they live upon the Reservation—but, they must always tell the Agent so the troops may expect their coming. Say also if they want to come and see where the new post is going to be placed, some of them can accompany me on my way back. (Maj. Brown now repeated the question about Mexico.)

Cocheis: The Mexicans are on one side in this matter and the Americans on another. There are many young people here whose parents and relatives have been killed by the Mexicans, and now these young people are liable to go down from time to time and do a little damage to the Mexicans. I don't want to lie about this thing; they go, but I don't send them. I made peace with the Americans, but the Mexicans did not come to ask peace from me as the Americans have done—I don't, myself, want to go down to Mexico and will not go, but my boys may go there. I consider that I myself am at peace with Mexico, but my young men, like those at all the other Reservations, are liable to occasionally make raids. I don't want to lie about this; I can't prevent it. There are bad people everywhere—a great many of us were one time at peace at Fronteras and some of the Mexicans used to tell us to come up here and steal American horses, which are big and worth a great deal of money in Mexico. But when our people came back there with them, they killed them and took the

6. "Bocon" (big mouth; augmentative of *boca*), as we have already seen, was a nick-name for *Esqui-nas-guisn*, or *Es-qui-mas-quin*.

Saturday, Feb 22^d Birthday of Washington. Moved up *Rio Gila* going E for 2 miles, then 2 miles N up *Rio San Carlos*—making camp on R. Bank . . . 4 miles

Same night Lieut Almy with L^t Watts and Co "M" 5th Cav. and L^t Bourke with Co "L" 1st Cav.—José as interpreter and 12 Indians making a total of about 75 men moved to cut off "*Bocon*" who had now taken the war-path, armed with the munitions of war dealt out to him while in our service. Started from camp at 5 P.M.—moving back on our trail to the camp of Feb'y 19th & 20th and thence W along *Gila* for about 2 m further, making . . . 8 miles

Sunday Feb'y 23. Sky cloudy—signs of snow. Moved S.W. (along *Gila*) 1½ m & turned W (*Gila* S.W-N[])] went ½ m; N up arroyo 1½ mile—turned up arroyo to W—marched 3 m up arroyo and then up E side of *S^a Mescal*, the top of the range being reached at 12 m. Passed down on other side—came to little arroyo with water (flowing N)—a little stream joined it from the W and then flowed on N to combine with the W fork of the *Rio San Carlos*. . . 10 miles
Rained at intervals all day.

Rained heavily all night.

Monday Feb 24th. Moved N.W. across spur of the *S^a Mescal* (3 miles) and then down an arroyo running North of W—after going about 6½ m from camp found water in this

horses and cattle away. Why don't the Americans tell us to go down there and steal from the Mexicans?

Maj. Brown: Tell them we are now at peace with Mexico and cannot do them any harm. When we make friends with a man we never do anything behind his back to hurt him. If ever we go to war with Mexico, we shall send word to the Mexicans and tell them we are coming. If we whip them, we shall whip them fairly, but not by doing anything behind their backs. I have said all I have to say; when I go back I shall tell the General all about *Cocheis* so that he will know all about him the same as if he had come here himself.

Cocheis: It is all right. When this ground was given me it was that we might roam over it as we pleased. I don't intend to let my young men do any wrong on this ground. I like the way in which you talk. (The remainder of this sentence, not being understood by me as Maj. Brown appeared to understand it,—has been omitted.) I am glad of the peace and my people rejoice at it.

The meeting closed, as it had begun, with a general hand-shaking.

Present: Capt. W. H. Brown

1st Lieut. C. H. Rockwell, 5th Cav.

2nd Lieut. John G. Bourke, 3rd Cav.

Mr. Stevens, Agent for the San Carlos Reservation

Mr. Jefferds, Agent for *Cocheis'* Band

Archie Mc Intosh, Guide

The interpretation was made by Mr. Jefferds.

arroyo which soon joined a stream flowing SN [S to N?]
Upon this we camped near a quantity of young cottonwoods
and in front of a low hill crested with a black ledge of rock,
(probably basalt) . . . 8 miles

Day clear and bright—Some few clouds.

Tuesday Feb 25th. Heavy rain and cold bitter wind—
Moved up high M^{tn}, going N of W—went in this direction
about 1½ m then W.S.W. and SW&S for 3 m more—passed
stream on our R, flowing into that on which we camped
last night—also saw a trib[utar]y coming in on its L—
Halted in a little cañon with water flowing ExN—joining
creek of our camp last night—Halt was made under S^a Pinal
—Marched N of W. passing up this arroyo for about 2 miles,
then turning S, we crossed a small divide and entered H^d.
waters of *Disappointment Creek*, going 3 miles and made
camp at same place where we had camped Dec 18th
Rained and hailed furiously—Keen wind.

Distance about . . . 9 miles

Since first halt today passed thro scrub oak and scrub pine
timber. Rain ceased about sun-down.

Wed Feb'y 26th Marched SSW about 6 m; first ascending
a high hill and then having down grade until we struck *Dis-*
appointment Cr at the point where it begins to flow E.S.E.—
Halted and prospected for water. L^t Almy & (10) men went
to *Rio Gila* to look for the cartridges buried by *Bocon*.
Found no water and com^d. moved down *Dissapp^{mt} Cr* to near
its junction with *Gila*, where we camped, making essentially
same march as that of Dec 13th 1872, for map of which see
proceedings pages. (Did not get the cartridges) Day fine—

Thursday Feb 27th. Moved back on our trail, going WNW
for (12) miles when we halted for a few moments at en-
trance of a little cañon on left, which had water. This day
we marched up W branch of *Disapp^t Creek*—Arroyo now
turned rather more to N—went about 2 m struck trail com-
ing in on our L (running from SSE—our trail of Jan. 22)
Mountains on L all day—Low hills on R. Went 3 m W
Keeping up this branch of *Disap^t Cr*—then crossing hills
going more to NW for 4 m more going down little cañon to
Shady Run—Camped. W. W. & Grass. Day fine; Sky
cloudy . . . 21 miles

(3) Two of our Indians ret^d to *Grant* (sick)

Friday Feb 28th Rained all night. Moved W about one mile & N. about another, going over our trail of Dec 18th. Passed camp of Dec 17th in *Mineral Cr*; great quantities of water gushing out of the rocks on the right—Went N—about one mile up cañon of *Mineral Cr*; went up grade of very steep hill about (2) two miles. *Min'l Cr* (now clay) divided into 2 cañons; one from N—other from N.N.W.—*Min'l Cr* flows first S.S.W— then S.S.E. and SSW to *Rio Gila*—Passed down grade on other side—going NW.W—passed a little tributary of *Min'l. Creek* flowing S.S.W & S.S.E. Day bright—Crossed over a white stone (granite) ridge and down little arroyo going W & N—for 3 miles—finding running water (rain) about half-way down—Came to old *Camp Pinal* and camped—Distance about . . . 7 miles

Saturday March 1st Moved in a N direction out of *Mason's Valley* about 1000 yds, crossing a low divide and then following an arroyo (N) full of water running with a heavy current (1 mile) Water flows into *Rio Prieto*. Day fine. Sky clear. Stream ran N & W for about 2 miles when we followed it—our trail then ran N. while stream turned W—going up grade one mile N. then after getting to top of high hill, turned West, going for a total distance of (7) miles from camp of last night, which is to SE of us: passed our old camp of Dec 17th and a little to N of it saw stream coming in to *Rio Pinto* from W—all the cañons are now full of water.

Sunday March 2 1873. Marched N down *Rio Pinto* for $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, saw stream coming in on L, rising from Mts in close vicinity; passed on N a little W for 2 miles more—saw "*West fork*" coming in and crossed it; still going NNW&N—for about one mile over hills, came down into an arroyo flowing into *Rio Pinto* and marched up this to W. for about 1 mile; then NW and WNW. for 2 miles and NW for 1 mile E—cañon getting quite rocky & rough. Camped at an old deserted Indian Village—at junction of this cañon with one from N. Location of the rancheria taken Jan. 15th due W of us and across a mountain ridge—Day fine. Sky clear. Distance . . . 8 miles

Monday Mar. 3^d Moved W by N about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, then NW over a little hill, continued in a W by N course for $1\frac{1}{2}$ m., coming down again into cañon, which ran to SE. Country hilly and well grassed—Oak groves—Water in small springs

at frequent intervals. Day fine, Sky clear. Passed on W. going over little divide—and coming down into a little arroyo which joined the fork of the *Rio Prieto* up which we came Dec 23. Passing across a little hill ascended arroyo S & W (with steep hills), finding excellent water in springs and tanks—Halted on top of a Mtⁿ at 12:45—after being out 4¾ hrs—making a march of about 8 or 10 miles. Arrived at a point on trail of night of Dec 15th near the Indian village we attacked at that time. Saw to the S of us (flowing NE), the cañon upon which we had then camped.

Pinal Mountains now to E. of us . . . 10 miles

Tuesday Mar 4th. Inauguration day. Broke camp, moving S; going up very high mtⁿ; Saw to SSW—a high butte with standstone crest—Looking back saw the conical butte of yesterday to N of us—all the cañons about us are filled with water—melted snow or rain. Day fine. Sky cloudless. After going about 500 or 800 yds turned W and, passing over Mtⁿ, came down into our Camp of January 12th. Found an abundance of water, grass and wood—

No Indian signs as yet with the exception of a macho track yesterday with those of (4) four men having American shoes—Indian boys say that there are no hostile Indians this side of the head of Tonto Creek—

Distance today (Very bad trail) . . . 4 miles

Wednesday March 5. Day fine, Sky cloudless. S—through a gap in Mt^s 1½ m—water flowing S from a spring—Turned W. going along between high Hills for about 1 mile then NW for nearly 3—reaching one of our old camps. found water running SW and then S—Rocky peak to WNW (Weaver's Needle). Turned N, going to top of High Mtⁿ. (on trail of night of Jan'y 11th). Reached summit of pass after marching over very rough country then turned W, going down grade, finding water flowing W about ½ m and then N.W. (joining Cañon Cr.), Water of last night's camp flows into *Rio Salado* in the big Cañon—Weather very hot. Birds singing on all sides—Green grass has been sprouting for some days, marched NW. through mountainous country, for about 1 mile then W & N for 3 more, passing a creek flowing W & N. and then down a long hill to a point W of camp of Jan 9th. Total Dist. (about) 13 m. Spring from the S comes out in front of camp.

Thursday March 6th L^t Bourke with a small party, mounted, started from camp NE through a mtⁿ pass and down into

Cañon C^k at its junction with a little stream we passed yesterday before getting into camp. Passed up *Cañon C^k* one mile going E—Cañon very bad, walls very high, abundance of water—Returned to starting point in cañon and then NNW for about one mile; being unable to go any farther on acc^t of huge boulders and deep pools of water, returned to last night's camp thence followed main command which had gone in a general NW. direction 8 miles on trail of January 10—& 11th.

Friday March 7th. Moved in a general course to *Rio Salado*, at its junction with cañon in which we had camped. *Rio Salado* flowing ENE and WSW—with a heavy current, cañon during to-day's march very rocky. Day fine, sky clear. Temperature about 75° or 80° F: Yesterday the command bathed in the open air—something which in *Penna* or *N. Y.* could not have been done in May . . . 4 miles

Sat'y March 8th. Moved across *Rio Salado* to L bank going W by N, came down again (by turning N) to river over which we again crossed at a place where it is very deep 2^m, Marched W about a mile further—when we left the river and turned N.E. and ExN, for about 3 miles or farther, getting down into a cañon the mouth of which we had crossed at its junction with *Rio Salado* this A.M.—Found water in a side cañon to R—(Some of the packers think we were encamped upon this stream, Dec 28th). Day fine, but excessively warm—Thermometer about 90° F. in shade—Sky blue and cloudless.—Day's march about . . . 7 miles

Sunday Mar 9th. Broke camp 8 am. North up cañon about 2½ m, passing hidden spring in conglomerate rock on R. crossed *Brown's* trail of Dec 28th '72 going W—found water on this trail at junction of (2) two little cañons with that which we ascended—Turned WNWxN. going up arroyo—after a total march of 4 miles turned N, going over hills about 2 miles descended into an arroyo running NW—Dry where we struck it—After two hours, found water in a little arroyo on left—Further down at junction of this water with *Sycamore C^k* (N to S) camped—Wood, Water and Grass—Day lovely—No new signs Many deer tracks—The Apache trail we saw yesterday was about two mo's old—Distance . . . 12 to 13 miles

Monday March 10th. Moved down *Sycamore Creek* WS.W. about 5 miles—cañon all the way—Plenty of water in

stream. L^t. Watts left the command and went on to M^c-Dowell—At crossing of the "*Reno road*", saw great numbers of tracks and three or four apparently distinct trails—horses and mules as well as foot-tracks all going towards Camp M^cDowell. Either the pack-trains of the rest of the command or, perhaps, the whole command itself—has gone to the post for rations. Day fine—Sky blue—Distance . . . 5 miles

Tuesday March 11th. Broke Camp 3 am W.S.W. for about 10 miles to Camp M^cDowell crossing *Rio Verde* in front of post—Maj *Brown* with *Taylor*, *Rockwell*, *Babcock*, *Michler* & *Brodie* at post—also *Price*, *Parkhurst*, *Hay*—D^r *O'Brien* and L^t *Thomas*. Dispatch rec^d from General Crook saying that Epizootic has broken out among Gov^t. herd at *Prescott*—News that *Spain* has become a republic—You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear—*Brown* and Command left with 20 days rations to scout to East of S^s*Matizal* [*Metitzal*]
—We remain here (4) four days and then scout to West of same range and rejoin main body at *Webber Creek*. Horse bitten by rattlesnake last night and recovered after application of poultice of "*golondeina*" weed.
Day fine—Thermometer about 95° in shade—Sky blue—10 miles

Wednesday Mar 12th Rem^d at M^cDowell.

Thursday March 13th Rem^d at M^cDowell—*Randall* arrived, no Indians—Weather extremely warm.

Friday Mar 14th. News arrived that a large body of Indians had crossed mail road S. of *Wickenburg*, Killed (2) men and stolen (3) three horses. *Almy* and myself determined to strike across country to see if we could not find their trail. Horses at *Prescott* are all sick and *Price* has no transportation.

Marched N.W. 4 miles—W. 4 miles to *Prescott* road—N.N. W. 2 miles going between 2 Buttes—4 miles N W—passing around corner of Mtⁿ. on left—4 m WNW to *Cave Creek*. Camped—W.W&G . . . 25 miles

Saturday Mar 15. Broke camp by moon-light—going along *Prescott* trail N about 1½ m—W about 1½ mile, crossing branch of *Cave C^k*; N about 1½ mile going around point of high mesa.—S ¼ m, West about 6 miles, leaving flat hill on R and (3) Buttes on L—N.N.W. about 2 miles, NW. 2 miles, WNW about 1 mile, NW and N.N.W. about 3 miles—

Camped on *New River*, which we reached 2 A M (16th March) Distance . . . 15 miles

Day very hot—Night cool—

Sunday Mar 16th. Rem^d in camp during day—Sent out the Indian boys who found an Indian trail made by a great party of Indians—*Apache Mojaves*—men, women and children, going towards a spur of the *Bradshaw Mt^s*. or else those between the *Verde* and *Agua fria Rivers*—Bread for 2 days was broken and preparations made for a night march. At rising of the moon marched NE 2½ miles, keeping in the cañon of New river; made camp in a potrero. No fires allowed—Utmost silence enjoined. 2½ [m]

Monday March 17th. *Patricks day*. After sunrise small fires were built and coffee made—Indians sent out to examine trail, which now looks as if great numbers had recently passed over it. “Moses” returned at mid-day with request for command to move further up cañon. Accordingly at 2 PM, moved up stream NE one mile E half mile NE one mile—Camped in a potrero, Passed a little butte on R—and saw a double headed butte due N of last camp—Day hazy—Temperature about 75° F; Grass excellent, water in about as great quantities as I have ever found upon such a stream in any part of the Territory. . . . 2½ miles:

We have to-day been out after Indians (4) four consecutive months. Rained violently nearly all night.

Tuesday March 18th. Broke camp at 8.30 AM—marched up new river about 6 or 7 m NE—Cañon all way. Rained heavily this morning—Many of the arroyos are filled with water. Camped at junction of 2 two cañons—Water plenty—Wood rather scarce—grass excellent, and abundant. Day cloudy. Distance . . . 6 to 7 miles

Made a night march—54 men (15 from my Co)—3 officers—4 apaches and the Interpreter Lopez—started at night fall—marched N.E. about ½ mile up cañon—turned E up tributary going about 5 miles and reaching top of a divide. Halted for moon—Rained a little—Mounted on top M^{tn} for 3 miles, then down Mtⁿ head of *Cave C^k* here running S.—no fires—Indian trail now very much scattered—Great difficulty in finding it.

Wednesday March 19th Kept on E. for 3 miles, then ExS for 3 m more going down very steep and long grade to *Red Creek*—flowing S—(Just below this point it turned ExS and flows into the *Rio Verde* about 2½ m) Camped and

sent messenger for pack-train's, at this spot, from a deserted rancheria of (23) jacales and a cornfield; jacales recently deserted. Very large timbers cut with axes, have been used in the construction of these dwellings.' (Sent out side scouts—one to E—another to N—Both returned with information that Indians have all gone across Verde—one party found *Woodson* in camp just across the Verde and from him we rec^d a note saying that *Randall* and *Hamilton* were following the trail of the Indians we have been following since the 15th inst.)

Distance from last Camp . . . 16 miles

Thursday Mar 20th Packs arrived. Rem^d in camp

Friday Mar 21st Moved east over the mountains to *Rio Verde* Saw L^t *Woodson's* command to N of us (about 2 m) going up stream. Upon discovering us, they halted and waved signals to which we responded. *Rice* (the Guide) sent to communicate with L^t W. Kept on E, going over grassy plateau for 6 miles when we descended into a box cañon on R. and made camp. This cañon was full of running water, an abundance of excellent green grass, and had a sufficiency of wood. It empties into *Rio Verde* about a half mile above junction of "*Red Creek*" (Last night out Indian boys discovered a fresh trail which they followed S across the Mountains bordering the Verde until they came to a recently abandoned rancheria, from which they brought back a basket. Reported seeing a fire on S^a *Metitzal* to east—Today just after crossing the *Verde*, we came to the ruins of an old fortification of greater magnitude than we have yet encountered—Being in a completely ruined condition, we could only conjecture its previous configuration, size and purpose, but everything seemed to indicate that in the centre had been a vast rectangular two or three-storied pile with well defended entrances and loop-holed walls, while the exterior line of work represented a parapet behind which the animals could find a temporary shelter. The entire work was of limestone, laid in an adobe cement, the *vigas* being of cottonwood, but so much decayed that we could only find little pieces of them in the walls. 500 or 1000 men could be accommodated within the lines which however seemed from the number of partition walls to have been intended for store-houses. One of the corners is still more than 20 feet

7. Bourke has a reference mark here, showing that the entry which follows belongs to March 20 below.

high—perhaps 25. Almy suggested that perhaps the structure had been erected by “*Coronado*” as a base of supplies and the suggestion is certainly a good one—If this be so, what a field for contemplation is afforded by these ruins. Our minds are carried back to the time when *Charles Vth* was King of *Spain* and the *Indies*—when the *Spaniards* were the first among nations in politeness, learning, wealth and enterprise—when the order of Jesuits was first established (a little handful of seven (7) men), from which order such wonderful results should come. “*Coronado*” started in 1541 to rescue from the *Moquis*, seven (7) missionaries who had gone to labor among them. It was alleged that some of these clergymen had been killed or maltreated and to secure delivery the *Spanish Gov^t* sent an imposing expedition under command of one of the ablest men at that time in this part of *America*. The expedition was gone 3 years, subjugated the *Moquies*, *Zuñies* and some of the *Navajoes*, found that one missionary had been put to death and (5) others had died under various circumstances, leaving alone the survivor, who had adopted the Indian customs and language, to enable him to carry on his ministry—When brought to *Coronado* he had nearly forgotten his native language.⁸ This is only one instance of the self-sacrificing zeal & devotion with which the Catholic missionaries to *America* signalized their career—planting the tree of life amid unknown deserts and *Mt^{ns}* and among unknown tribes, watering it with their blood and all for the sake of a principle which the world may call fanaticism, but which perhaps God may call Faith. Shall we never hear the last of *Elliott* the Indian Missionary who only ventured once beyond the town limits of *Boston*? and whose famous Bible was written in a comfortable studio? All honor to him, but greater praise to these greater men the Spanish priests.

The above acc^t, altho garbled maybe,⁹ is true in this much—The date of *C's* departure & the time of his absence. About the remainder, there are several conflicting stories—1s^t as to the number of padres and secondly as to the tribes among whom they labored—

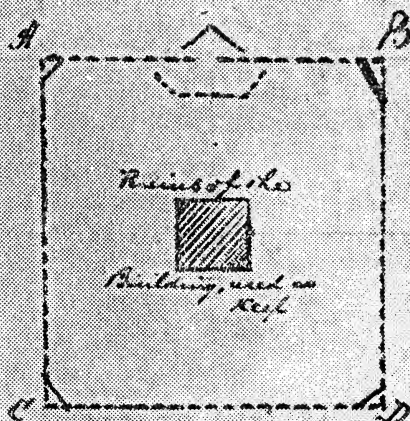
To-day's march . . . 10 to 11 miles

Rice ret^d without having been able to overtake *Woodson's* command.

8. See next paragraph, and the following note. Perhaps there is here a confused allusion to the “seven Christian bishops,” and the fabled “*Cities of Cibola*.”

9. It is a curious jumble! And it is interesting to know that *Bourke* so realized.

Remains of old Spanish fort on the Verde
 All this was created by Corona
 to store his supplies, its date is 1541.



ABCD = Ramparts

Could not permit proper time but I think now
 (October 25, 1881) that it was one block to square of 10
 or one of them red spaces to try to in length.
 corners were fringed.

OLD "SPANISH FORT"
 (notes of March 18-24)

Saturday Mar 22^d Marched NE across mesa passing tributary of creek on which we camped, another creek itself (here flowing from N to S)—passed across confluent from E—(2m). Day cloudy. Temperature 60°F. Fine Grass everywhere. Marched up the cañon (N) for 6 or 7 miles, finding a spring upon the M^{tn} side to the R and another upon the left—the first about 2 or 3 m up the cañon; the second at end of journey. Camped in a beautiful little cove. Excellent green grass, plenty of wood and water. We are now getting well into the bosom of the *S^a Matitzal*. One of our Mexⁿ packers has been very sick for several days. Last night he became demented. He will most probably die within a few days. . . . 7 or 8 m

Sunday, Mar 23^d Marched E.N.E. up cañon about 4 miles—A few hund^d yds from our camp saw where Randall had camped two days ago—His trail turned to L. going N—one mile from camp saw little creek coming in on R—also saw a monstrous quartz ledge—Mt^{ns} becoming very elevated. Sky cloudy. Weather warm but mild—Mexican very sick. Went due N. up cañon one mile. Plenty of water. Trail very bad. Had to make camp on acc^t of the precarious condition of the Mexican who, I am afraid, will die to-night—Distance . . . 5 m.

Monday Mar 24th The sick Mexican *Presiliano Mongo* died this morning at one o'clock. We buried him shortly after sun-rise and erected over his grave small cross bearing his name and date of his death. To day the weather was especially charming, the whistling of birds was heard on every side and the balmy air made us forget that any part of *Arizona* is a desert. March^d NNE up cañon, going along skirt of Mtⁿ. Passed two springs, in front of our camp on L. side of arroyo—about half mile from camp, stream divides into 2 parts, one from SSE, the other NNE shortly afterwards 2^d stream receives a confluent from our L—Mt^{ns} still very high—Kept on in a general N.N.E. course still following the cañon, passed a little stream coming in on our R—Entered a deserted Indian rancheria—12 houses—passed through a grove of robles (scrub-oak) (3½ m total) Kept on up cañon now getting very steep, waterfall on L, crossed stream for last time, going to its R—March now due N. Getting to top of hill, saw the creek again below us—Passed through another rancheria—Found belt of pine timber on top of range (5 m) North one mile going down into a valley, timbered

with pine, oak and manzanita: some snow on ground, water in every little arroyo—Made camp on a little stream, flowing from N to S and SW. Saw *Bradshaw* and *Mogollon* ranges in distance former to W. latter to N. To-day we have wood, water, grass in abundance. Every indication goes to prove that the Indians have been in the cañon of the past few days' march for months; we have seen more than a hundred large sized jacales, freshly abandoned.

Tuesday Mar 25. Moved N about 300 yds, then down a grade 6 miles, saw two little Mtⁿ streams on our L. came down into a cañon just below their junction and near the confluence of a 3^d from the R—Beautiful waterfall on L. (1 m) Day fine. Hills timbered with pine & oak. Kept on down stream until we came to East Fork *Rio Verde*, where we found remains of a large camp of soldiers, (3) or (4) days old at the farthest. Passed a little stream on R—also several Indian rancherias (deserted) . . . 9 miles

Wednesday March 26th: Moved N.N.E about 500 yds, then E. about same distance along E *Fr Verde*—Crossed it and moved E. for a total distance 1½ m—Moved N.N.E. for about 5 m, again crossing E. Fork at a bend (E.N.E. to W. S.W.) Country very hilly and well grassed—Day fine. Moved in a general N.N.E. course for a total distance of more than 15 miles—going up E. fork—Country Hilly—Just before getting into camp, came upon a heavy trail fresh following our course . . . 16 miles

Thursday Mar 27th. Moved N. about ½ mile until we reached "*Webber*" Creek (flowing E.S.E) turned up that stream WNW, NW, NNW, N, W and N for a total march of about 5 miles. Day cool, but mild. Sky clear. Passed *Brown's* camp about 1 mile out from our camp of yesterday. Saw some few pappoose tracks on his trail . . . 5 miles (Much oak & some little pine on *Webber C^k*)

Friday Mar 28th. Moved W. about 3 miles crossing very soon after leaving camp a small tributary of *Webber C^k* (flowing S) Country very beautiful. Finely timbered with oak & some pine—well watered and abundantly grassed (*Black Mesa* on our R. about 2 m) Day fine. Kept up our West course for a total distance of 7½ m. *S^a Mogollon* just in front and to R. of us—Pine woods all the way. Came to *Krome's C^k*. (here flowing about N to S. Scenery beautiful. "*Devin's jump-off*" to N.W. (distant about 3 or 4 miles)

Sat^y Mar 29th: A Fresh trail of *Apache-Mojaves*, (men women and children) was discovered last night leading along under the S. edge of *Black Mesa* & going in an E. direction. This morning, the Com^d moved to intercept the band if possible. Moved East parallel to yesterday's course for about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, going up gentle grade. Turned N.E. grade getting more severe, until we reached crest of *Black Mesa* $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. Day fine. Sky cloudless—The ascent of the mesa was made without difficulty.—E about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, then in a N. course for 2 m, Keeping *Webber Cañon* on our R—Pine forest the whole way. Kept along edge of the mesa for nearly 4 m. further, first going N.E. 2 m, until we came to H^d waters of *Webber C^k*; the other 2 miles N., camped on the mesa W.W. and Grass—Snow in patches. Scenery beautiful—To the West, we could see *Squaw Peak* 8 or 9 miles. This morning one of our Indian boys was reported as deserted, he having been absent since yesterday. To-night a small party was sent on ahead to Examine country and look for Indian signs. Returning, they reported having found where the *Apache-Mojaves* (see supra) had climbed up on the Mesa—that they followed their trail which was about five days old and bore evidence of having been made by a very large band of men, women and children We have only six or seven day's rations.

Sunday Mar 30th Broke camp at 9 a m—Moved N. E. for about 3 or 4 m. Pine timber on every side. Day fine. Snow to be seen in patches at intervals. Went in same direction about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. reaching the edge of the mesa, at the head of *Webber Creek*. Turned E (S) went nearly a mile and found trail which we had been hunting; trail going due E—Went one and half miles (E) finding the place where the Indians had gone down from the mesa and also their camp (26) twenty six fires, representing an aggregate of at least (200) two hundred. As we had no rations with which to make an energetic pursuit we were obliged to return. No doubt the Indians have gone to *Colorado Chiquito* . . . 7 miles Stream upon which we camped joins "*Webber Creek*."

Monday Mar 31st. Moved back on yesterday's trail about 4 miles. Ground very muddy from melting snow. Day fine, but rather cool. Struck the "*Devin's trail*" and marched upon it N. for about one mile, passing over a little brook flowing S.S.W & S—Kept on N, crossing another brook (tributary of former) going some little distance (say two

miles) and heading a number of small streams flowing W. We now could catch, at intervals, glimpses of the Mt^{ns} on W. of *Rio Verde*—"Squaw Peak" and others. Kept on N, until the march was about (10) miles when we halted in a little arroyo (flowing N) and made camp. Wood and Water, good and plenty. Grass poor & scarce. This creek flows Nx E for $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and then joins *Clear Creek or Fossil Ck.* when flowing due W (Just above *Clear Creek Cañon*) East Fork joins the *Verde* proper about 30 miles below camp *Verde*—*Fossil Creek* runs in a mile or two above *East Fork*. *Clear Creek* joins *Rio Verde* 5 m below post. *Beaver Creek* about opposite to post. Distance to day . . . 10 miles

Tuesday April 1st. Day dawned bright and cold. Turned W, 2 miles over very hilly and timbered country crossing several small confluent of *Clear & Fossil Ck.* Turning S. we ascended a little stream with great quantity of water one mile, crossed it at its junction with a tributary from the S.W. and halted on summit of a high hill (3 m). Country is to day broken up by a great number of gullies, all full of running water, and the elevation is perceptibly less than that of day before yesterday. Marched $3\frac{1}{2}$ m SW&S crossing another little stream flowing N. Marched this last distance upon an old trail which ran in from E.S.E., one mile and a half S. along a broad "divide" having creeks on each side flowing W. (2) Two miles South coming down into what the guide calls "*Hardscrabble*" Creek. Saw trail of cavalry from SE., probably made by *Burns* and *Hall*. . . 10 to 12 m

Wednesday, April 2^d: Day clear and mild. Moved W. down *Hardscrabble Ck*; about 1 m our C^k turned S. W., our trail kept on due W—*Burns* trail turned S about 500 yds beyond the C^r. "*Bill Williams*" Mtⁿ in distance to Right *Bradshaw Mtn* in the distance to West. Turned NW $\frac{3}{4}$ m—North $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, descended a steep mtⁿ (40 minutes being req^d to move down the declivity). Struck *Fossil Creek* at mouth of its cañon at a point where it turns W by S. (This C^k, as we saw it, was flowing from NE then N and S, then W, then SW, then S/— (Its general course being NE to SW). Moved W. one mile up high Mtⁿ. Moved in a N. course for 4 or 5 miles over an undulating, grassy mesa of lava—Came to tanks near a grove of cedar and pine (*Muddy Tanks*). Camped W. Water and Grass—*Baker's Butte* due E about 12 m—distance to day . . . 10 miles

Thursday, April 3^d. Day bright and beautiful. Marched West to "*Cedar Tanks*" 3 m, passing cavalry trail leading N. "*Squaw Peak*" about 10 miles W 20° S. Much cedar in vicinity of these tanks, (arroyo from these tanks leads SW to Verde) Marched W & S. W. 2 mile, South 2 miles, W. NW. N N W and W for a total day's march of twelve miles, coming down into *Cedar Creek* (4) four miles above junction with Verde. Wood water and grass plenty, and good—Passed to R of butte, six miles before reachnig camp, Trail bad—Day exceedingly warm . . . 18 miles.

Friday, April 4th. Moved down *Clear Creek* SW. N 2 miles, turning to left and moving W.N.W. 3 miles to *Camp Verde*, crossing *Rio Verde* in front of post. Indian runners sent out to bring in such of the hostile Indians as may be inclined to sue for peace. . . . 5 miles

Found Gen^l *Crook*, Dr *Bendell*, Gen^l *Small*, Mr *Marion*, Dr *Williams*, Colonel *Coppinger* and all the officers of his post & of Maj *Brown's* Command—all well—Our comrades had killed (110) one hundred and ten.

Saturday, April 5th Rem^d at Verde—Made a trip to "*Montezuma's Wells*." Found the well to be the crater of an extinct volcano situated at head of "*Beaver Creek*," (9) nine miles N. N. W. from Verde—The descent to the surface of water was about (150) feet in length; the depth of the well in the middle not known—near the shore (70) seventy feet. Diameter about (100) yds, one hundred yards.

We found houses of stone and cement built by a nation of whom no traces now remain, and a deep cave, also occupied as a habitation, in the center of which rose a fine spring which shortly disappeared in the sands and then bursting through a crevice in the lava, found its way into *Beaver Creek*.

Returned same night to *Verde*. 20 m

Sunday, April 6th *Chis-le-pun* a big chief of the Apaches came in to offer his submission—He had with him about (300) people. He said he could not fight General *Crook* because the General had too many copper cartridges, too many soldiers and in every way too powerful to be contended against.

At night rode on horse back to *Prescott* reaching there *Monday, April 7th*. Weather bitter cold. 45 miles.

Thus terminated the first and only successful campaign made against the Apaches since the acquisition of the "*Gads-*

den Purchase." The orders announcing the conclusion of hostilities, particularizing the officers most distinguished for gallantry, giving instructions for the treatment of Indians upon reservations and assigning troops to stations now follow. The results may be summed up as follows: By Brown's Command

Indians killed	-----	600
by each separate detachment		
Miles traveled	----- about -----	1200
Days	-----	142

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA

Prescott, April 7, 1873

General Orders,

No. 12.

It is with pleasure the announcement is made of the surrender of large numbers of Indians lately hostile, against whom military operations have been prosecuted for the past four months; and the assurance through the chiefs and head men of these tribes of their desire and the desire of their people to conclude a permanent peace.

These propositions are made in the midst of a campaign in which they have been severely punished, and the Department Commander, believing in their sincerity, announces and hereby declares peace with the tribes referred to.

The basis of this peace is simply that these Indians shall cease plundering and murdering, remain upon their several reservations, and comply with the regulations made by the Government, through authorized agents, for them.

So long, therefore, as they remain true to their agreement, they will be protected by the Military of this Department in the enjoyment of all their rights under the law.

After a sufficient time shall have elapsed to enable the friends of any renegades still at large to bring them in upon their proper reservations, post commanders will use the troops at their command to pursue and force them in, and in case any such straggling bands continue to remain absent without proper authority, they will be forced to surrender or be destroyed.

By command of Brevet Major-General Crook:

A. H. NICKERSON,
 Captain Twenty-third Infantry,
 A. D. C., and A. A. A. General.

Official:

John G. Bourke,
 Aide-de-Camp.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ARIZONA

Prescott, April 8, 1873,

GENERAL ORDERS,

No. 13.

The following memorandum of instructions is hereby published for the guidance of officers commanding troops stationed on the several Indian Reservations in this Department:

I. With a view to bringing the straggling bands and families still at large upon the reservations, and to serve as a nucleus for the establishment of civil government, a small number of the Indians recently used as scouts will be retained in service under existing laws, at each of the reservations hereafter specified.

Each of these detachments will be under the command of an officer, designated by the Department Commander, who will have charge, under the supervision of the commanding officer of the post, of their clothing and accounts; but the post commander may communicate with them direct, at any and all times.

These Indians will be selected from among the best of their several tribes, and will be liable to be mustered out for misconduct towards the Indians of their own or other tribes, or other good cause, and their places filled by others duly selected. They will constitute the police force of the reservations, and while required to attend regular musters and inspections will not only be allowed, but will be required to cultivate the soil and perform the various industries prescribed by the Indian Department, the same as other Indians.

They will be used, from time to time, upon the application of the agent, or the commanding officers' own motion, to preserve the peace, report and correct any irregularities that may occur among their own or other tribes in the vicinity.

II. Commanding officers will aid the duly authorized agents in instructing the Indians in, and establishing among them civil government in its simplest form, enabling them to settle their differences according to the usages of civilization, gradually showing them its benefits as contrasted with their own barbarous forms and customs.

To do this effectually will require different forms to suit the peculiarities of different tribes, and the agents of the several reservations are requested to meet the officers commanding the military on their respective reservations and agree upon the necessary forms, being careful not to make them too complicated at first for the comprehension of the tribes to which they are to be applied, leaving them to be enlarged with their capabilities, so that when the auxiliary force can be dispensed with, they will be capable of self government and eventually become good citizens.

While they should not be judged harshly for acts which in civil codes would constitute minor offenses, care should also be taken that they do not succeed in deceiving their agents and the officers, in matters of greater import, being careful to treat them as children in ignorance, not in innocence.

Perfect harmony between the officers of the Indian and War Departments, on duty together, is absolutely necessary in treating Indians so lately hostile and so apparently incorrigible, and the Department Commander earnestly enjoins this harmony, and directs that in case of difference in matters where the line is not plainly marked, that officers carefully avoid such difference being made known to the Indians, and that they refrain from any overt act in the matter at issue, until instructions from these Headquarters shall have been received.

By command of Brevet Major-General Crook:

A. H. NICKERSON,
Captain Twenty-third Infantry,
A. D. C., and A. A. A. General.

Official:

[J.G.B.]

Aide-de-Camp

(To be continued)

ERRATA

- p. 52, lines 12, 14, *for* Stamwood *read* Stanwood
- p. 113, line 17, *read* . . and was no longer a factor.
- p. 116, note 3, first line, *for* is *read* in
- p. 167, line 6 from bottom, *read* labyrinthian
- p. 174, line 9 from bottom, *read* Indian agents
- p. 191, line 10, *for* he was burned *read* he was not
burned
- p. 200, line 15, *read* walled towns reported by . . .
- p. 202, line 2, *read* interpolations
- p. 212, line 10 from bottom, *read* . . . S. Francesco
- p. 228, line 6, *read* Comte de . .
- p. 249, note 3, line 4, *for* cultivated *read* cultivable
- p. 250, note 7, line 4, *for* Adolph *read* Adolf
- p. 296, line 5 from bottom, *read* enclosing
- p. 302, lines 23-24, *read* . . . error of the head and not
of the Heart.
- p. 317, note 35 reference: *Ante*, 305.
note 36 reference: *Ante*, 306-308.
- p. 322, note 43 reference: *Ante*, 313-314.

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(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

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